

Native Speakerism
in English Language Teaching:
Voices From Poland

Marek Kiczkowski

PhD

University of York

Education

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Abstract

In recent decades, a widespread and deeply-rooted bias against ‘non-native speaker’ teachers which exists in English Language Teaching (ELT) has been documented. This prejudice together with the discourses that support and normalise it has been recently described as the ideology of native speakerism. This study examines the presence and the effects of native speakerism on ELT in Poland. It also aims to provide suggestions how the ELT profession can move forward beyond the ideology of native speakerism, towards an English as a Lingua Franca perspective on teaching English. More specifically, a mixed methods research design was used to answer five research questions; namely, (1) how students, teachers and recruiters in private Polish language schools understand the concept of a ‘native speaker’, (2) to what extent they prefer ‘native speaker’ teachers and (3) what the possible reasons for such preference might be, (4) what skills and qualities the three cohorts value highly in effective English teachers, and (5) how important is the teacher’s ‘nativeness’ in comparison. Focus groups, questionnaires and semi-structured interviews were used to gather data on these research questions. Results show that native speakerism is still deeply embedded in ELT in Poland with many participants preferring ‘native speaker’ teachers. Nevertheless, the findings also indicate that the participants are aware of the global nature of English and that they do not see ‘native speakers’ as the only correct models of the English language. In addition, the teacher’s ‘nativeness’ seems to be the least important quality of an effective English teacher according to the three cohorts. Several practical implications of these results for classroom practice, materials writing and teacher training are suggested.

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Any errors in this thesis are my own. I am also fully responsible for its central argument as well as for possible mistakes that might be identified.

Declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. All sources are acknowledged as References.

1 Chapter One: Introduction

The aim of this introductory chapter is to lay the necessary foundations for this thesis as a whole. It introduces the key concept of native speakerism, which is the main focus of this thesis, and underscores its growing importance in the field of applied linguistics and English Language Teaching (ELT). It also outlines the structure of the thesis, providing a brief overview of each of the chapters that follow.

The issue of the discrimination and marginalisation of ‘non-native speaker’ teachers, was first put on the academic map in the late eighties and early nineties with the pioneering work of Medgyes (1983, 1992, 1994), who set out to show that ‘non-native speaker’ teachers could be equally good and effective in the classroom as their ‘native speaker’ colleagues. Since his early publications, numerous other scholars have followed replicating and extending his initial research. For example, researchers have looked at discriminatory recruitment policies (Kiczkowiak, 2015; Mahboob & Golden, 2013; Selvi, 2010), students’ perceptions and attitudes towards ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2002; Moussu, 2002; Walkinshaw & Duong, 2012) and the different pedagogical strengths and weaknesses of the two groups (Árva & Medgyes, 2000; Llurda, 2005c). The growing interest in this field is evident when the number of publications is looked at. Kamhi-Stein (2016) highlights that there have been 350 articles and books on the topic since Medgyes’ early work, the vast majority of which have been published in the last decade.

Nevertheless, it was not until later that the full extent of the problem was presented and described under one term, namely native speakerism. In his ground-breaking work, Holliday (2005) presents and analyses native speakerism, which he defines as a pervasive ideology in the field of ELT which at its core has the belief that those perceived as ‘native speakers’ are intrinsically superior not only linguistically, but also culturally and pedagogically to their ‘non-native speaker’ counterparts. Since this initial description, native speakerism has attracted an increasing amount of research, including edited volume publications such as that by Houghton and Rivers (2013b) or Swan, Aboshiha and Holliday (2015).

The bulk of these research efforts has been directed at analysing students’ attitudes to ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers. However, an important proportion of it has been carried out either in the US (Levis, Sonsaat, & Link, 2017; Mahboob, 2004; Moussu, 2002) or in Asia (Chun, 2014; Walkinshaw & Duong, 2012). While some research has been conducted in Europe, many publications seem a decade or more old (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2002, 2005; Pacek, 2005). In addition, the literature review only yielded one study which has been carried out in Poland (Kula, 2011). Consequently, there seems to be a need to further investigate this issue in Europe, and more specifically in Poland. Furthermore, none of the studies collected in the literature review (see 2.4.4) seem to address the possible reasons for students’ preference for ‘native speakers’ that has been identified in the literature. This is an important gap since understanding their rationale, could lead to developing solutions to the problem.

Moreover, the research efforts have also been focused on providing evidence of discriminatory recruitment policies, which favour ‘native speaker’ teachers, or those who are perceived as such (Mahboob & Golden, 2013; Ruecker & Ives, 2015). Despite the fact that there is little doubt that ‘non-native speaker’ teachers face discrimination when applying for ELT jobs, very little is known about recruiters’ motives or the perceptions of the two groups. In fact, the literature review (see 2.4.3) has only identified three studies, all from an English as a Second Language (ESL) context in the UK and the US, which aimed to analyse this issue (Clark & Paran, 2007; Mahboob, Uhrig, Newman, & Hartford, 2004; Moussu, 2006). Consequently, there is an urgent need to further explore recruiters’ attitudes towards ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers, especially as far as an English as a Foreign Language (EFL) context is concerned.

Furthermore, with regards to English teachers, research on native speakerism has mainly addressed individual teachers' lived experiences to document how they have been affected by the ideology (Hansen, 2004; Javier, 2016; Lowe & Kiczkowiak, 2016). The second strand of research has focused on identifying the strengths and weaknesses of 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers, either based on classroom observation (Árva & Medgyes, 2000), self-perceptions (Reves & Medgyes, 1994) or students' opinions (Javid, 2016). Little is known, however, about teachers' preferences for being taught a foreign language by 'native speakers', the reasons for them, as well as their opinion about working together with 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers.

It is also important to note that the very term 'native speaker', which lies at the core of the ideology of native speakerism, has also received considerable attention in the literature. For decades, applied linguists have attempted to define what it meant to be a 'native speaker'. The most notable of these is perhaps Davies (1991, 2003, 2013), who spent a substantial part of his career focused on the matter, devoting three book length publications to the subject. More recently, researchers such as Holliday (Holliday, 2005, 2013, 2015) have emphasised the subjectiveness of the term and its ideological nature. Despite these scholarly efforts, little is known about how those directly involved in ELT might define or understand the concept. It is true that some research has focused on teachers' self-perceptions and feelings of belonging to one group or the other (Inbar-Lourie, 2005; Piller, 2002). Nevertheless, the literature is yet to explore the definitions of a 'native' and a 'non-native speaker' from students', teachers' and recruiters' point of view.

In addition to these academic reasons for exploring native speakerism in Poland, there are also very personal reasons for the choice of this subject. Having worked as a 'non-native speaker' teacher for almost a decade in seven different countries, I have not only witnessed discriminatory recruitment policies in ELT, but have also been a victim of them on several occasions. Moreover, I have been made to feel professionally inferior due to my 'non-native' status. These personal experiences have also been confirmed by numerous conversations I have had with other 'non-native speaker' teachers, practically all of whom have in one way or another fallen victim of native speakerism. In addition, I have met numerous 'native speaker' teachers who no longer feel valued for their teaching skills or qualifications, but are solely hired for their 'native' status. These personal experiences have sparked my interest in this research field and have ultimately led to my choosing to focus on it for the current research project.

Consequently, the aim of this thesis is to examine the extent to which the ideology of native speakerism is present in the private ELT sector in Poland. The study was conducted in six different administrative regions in Poland and involved students, teachers and recruiters. The use of a mixed methods approach to collecting data hopes to provide an in-depth insight into various manifestations of native speakerism in ELT in Poland. More specifically, this study aims to first ascertain how students, teachers and recruiters understand the concept of a 'native speaker'. Furthermore, the research questions that are posed in this project also seek to determine whether the three cohorts have a preference for 'native speaker' teachers, and if so, what reasons could explain this preference. The study also attempts to move beyond the ideology of native speakerism by investigating the qualities and skills of effective English teachers that students, teachers and recruiters find important.

The current research project expands on the theory and results obtained by previous researchers who have studied native speakerism. It provides an original contribution to the field inasmuch as it tackles several previously understudied areas. First, it analyses the definition of a 'native speaker' from students', teachers' and recruiters' perspectives. Furthermore, this study is also one of the first to aim to provide possible reasons and explanations for a preference for 'native speaker' teachers. Finally, its focus on qualities and skills of effective teachers, rather than on strengths and weaknesses of 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers, to determine

how important in the eyes of students, teachers and recruiters 'nativeness' actually is, is also novel. It is hoped that this research project might trigger similar studies in other contexts to corroborate its findings. Together, they might provide the necessary insights that can help design solutions to help tackle the problem of native speakerism in ELT.

It seems appropriate at this moment to offer some predicted answers to the research questions posed in this project. First, it is expected that the participants might associate a 'native speaker' with someone born and raised in a 'native-speaking' country, in particular in the UK or the US. Moreover, bearing in mind the widespread preference for 'native speaker' teachers both on the part of students and recruiters, it is expected that a similar preference might be observed in this study. However, it is also hypothesised that other skills and qualities of effective teachers are more important than the teacher's mother tongue in the eyes of students, teachers and recruiters. Finally, it is possible that factors such as the belief about what constitutes correct English, or the attitude towards 'native' and 'non-native speaker' accents might correlate with the preference for 'native speaker' teachers.

This thesis is organised into six chapters. Before each of them is introduced briefly, it is important to note that this thesis is based on the pragmatist worldview (see 3.1.2). This philosophical stance aims to provide a bridge between the two opposing paradigms of constructivism and post-positivism. Its primary concern is not a purist adherence to one type of methodology, but rather a focus on the research questions and what works in practice (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Consequently, the studies chosen for the literature fall on both sides of the qualitative and quantitative divide, and were selected with the research aims of this project in mind, based on whether they could inform the design of the study and finetune the research questions. Furthermore, following the practical orientation of the pragmatist paradigm, there is a focus in the literature review on what works in practice and on practical solutions to the problem of native speakerism.

Chapter Two reviews the literature relevant to native speakerism. It starts by examining the concept of 'native speaker' as it has been utilised in SLA and ELT. This section ends with a suggestion to use the term in inverted commas, as has been done thus far in this chapter, due to the concept's ideological and subjective nature. This initial discussion leads to the presentation of the ideology of native speakerism and the discourses that support and normalise it in ELT, such as that of Standard English (SE). The following section focuses on English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) scholarship since it seems to provide a viable route to tackle some of the discourses that support native speakerism. ELF theoretical and research background is outlined and critiqued. This section ends by presenting the practical implications ELF has for ELT. Finally, Chapter Two concludes with a review of the relevant literature concerning the strengths and weaknesses of 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers. Students', teachers' and recruiters' perceptions of the two groups are also presented. This is followed by a discussion of the qualities and skills of effective English teachers, and it is suggested that a focus on teaching effectiveness, rather than the teacher's 'nativeness', can also offer a viable route to overcoming native speakerism.

Chapter Three presents the mixed methods approach to research that this project is based on. First, however, the philosophical assumptions behind the choice of the methodology are presented. This chapter also gives the rationale for utilising a mixed methods approach. This is followed by discussing the study proper. The history and development of ELT in Poland is sketched out in order to show how this project fits within this regional context. Furthermore, the research aims, design, tools and procedures, as well as the sample and sampling techniques are also outlined. This chapter ends by describing the ethical considerations and the limitations of the study.

In Chapter Four, the data gathered in this project is presented. This chapter is organised according to the research questions specified in Chapter Three. Therefore, it is divided into five

sections, each of which corresponds to one of the research questions. Since this study mixed quantitative and qualitative data collection tools, there are both quantitative and qualitative results for each of the research questions. These are presented in tables and figures or in text form, respectively, in such a manner as to corroborate the results and provide a deeper insight into and a fuller picture of the studied problem.

Chapter Five is devoted to the discussion of the research findings presented in Chapter Four. Likewise, it is divided into five sections, each of which corresponds to the sections in Chapter Four, and in turn to each of the five research questions. In this chapter, the results are compared and contrasted with those obtained by other researchers. Interpretations of the findings are also provided. Finally, the original contributions the results from this study offer to the field are also highlighted when appropriate.

Finally, Chapter Six concludes this thesis. Apart from summarising the preceding sections and the most important results, it also offers implications of this research for ELT practice and suggestions for future research. The former is further subdivided into three sections, the first of which focuses on the practical implications the results of this study have for classroom practice. The second links the findings with materials writing, while the third with teacher education proposing changes in these areas that might help tackle native speakerism. This chapter ends by suggesting future research directions, which are based both on the novel findings of this project, which other researchers could aim to corroborate, as well as on the limitations of this study, which future research might seek to overcome.

Before the literature review is presented in Chapter Two, however, it is necessary to briefly clarify the reasons the term ‘native speaker’ has been thus far used in inverted commas. In the literature, it is common to see the acronyms NS (Native Speaker), NNS (Non-Native Speaker), NES (Native English Speaker), NNES (Non-Native English Speaker), as well as NEST (Native English Speaking Teacher) and NNEST (Non-Native English Speaking Teacher). However, despite the frequency with which these terms have been deployed, they are rarely sufficiently problematised. In fact, they are rarely if ever defined, suggesting perhaps that doing so would be superfluous as it is obvious who is and who is not a ‘native speaker’. Yet, this could not be further from the truth. As the literature review in Chapter Two (see 2.1) shows, despite significant research efforts, the term ‘native speaker’ still lacks an agreed-upon definition. In addition, numerous researchers have highlighted that the label can be subjective, arbitrary and ideological, forming a powerful discourse that further buttresses the ideology of native speakerism by privileging those who are perceived as ‘native speakers’, and discriminating those not granted this status. Consequently, as further explained in Chapter Two (see 2.1.6), in this thesis the terms are used in inverted commas to underscore their subjectivity and ideological nature. On the other hand, when the acronyms NS or NNS are used, they refer to a linguistic idealisation, a theoretical concept frequently also utilised as the benchmark to study language acquisition.

2 Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter reviews the literature connected to the influence of the ideology of native speakerism on the ELT profession. Native speakerism is a term coined and described by Holliday (2005, 2006), and later reconceptualised by Houghton and Rivers (2013a), which refers to a widespread ideology in ELT that discriminates against teachers based on their perceived belonging to a first language (L1) group, usually manifesting itself in privileging ‘native speakers’ as superior models of language, embodiments of a superior Western methodology, and thus ultimately as better teachers. Although native speakerism only started to be described and studied recently, its roots are much deeper and go beyond the domain of ELT.

Just as other negative ideologies such as racism or sexism, native speakerism is buttressed by powerful discourses which normalise and justify it, leading to the maintenance of discriminatory social practices. Some of the discourses supporting native speakerism can be traced back to how the NS has been conceptualised in theoretical, applied and educational linguistics, which has viewed the NS as an infallible linguistic ideal all learners should aspire to. The ideology is also evident in Second Language Acquisition (SLA) research, which frequently used an idealised NS as the benchmark to which learners’ progress should be compared.

These ideas have also percolated to ELT, on which now native speakerism exerts a strong and manifold influence. For example, the ideology is evident in the ‘native speaker’ fallacy (Phillipson, 1992), or the belief that any ‘native speaker’ is *a priori* a better teacher of English. This often leads to discriminatory recruitment policies, whereby around three quarters of all ELT jobs are for ‘native speakers’ only (Kiczkowiak, 2015; Mahboob & Golden, 2013; Selvi, 2010).

However, these discourses ignore the fact that English has now become a global language of international communication. As a result, SE cannot be seen any more as the unique standard norm for teaching and learning English. The emergence of ELF and English as an International Language (EIL) research have led scholars to question native speakerism. While some researchers still object to this pluricentric view of the English language, as do some students and teachers; it seems that this research does offer a possibility to make both ELT and SLA reconsider how and which English is to be taught, as well as the role of ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’ in ELT.

Another strand of research which has tried to question the privileged position of ‘native speakers’ teachers within ELT focused on identifying the strengths and weaknesses ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’ have as teachers. While partly successful in proving that ‘non-native speakers’ could also teach English well, it has led to creating even more stereotypes about the two groups. These stereotypes are often visible in the way recruiters and students view ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers. In contrast, it seems that a possible way out from the native speakerist ideology is a focus on the qualities of effective teachers in general, regardless of their L1.

However, before the literature review of the impact of the ideology of native speakerism on ELT is undertaken, it is essential to first explore and attempt to define the key term that lies at the very core of native speakerism and of this project, and which has already been used in this introduction; that is, ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’. This is important as the discourses which support native speakerism, and which are discussed in the following sections of this chapter, do not problematize the two concepts, assuming that they are well-defined, objective and value-free.

2.1 Conceptualising the Native Speaker

As pointed out above, the literature review first focuses on what it means to be a ‘native speaker’ of a particular language, reviewing different definitions which have been proposed since Bloomfield introduced the term to modern linguistics. This initial exploration is also important because as Braine (1999c) and Faez (2011) point out, the terms ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ have been and still are widely used in theoretical and applied linguistics, as well as SLA and ELT research and practice despite the fact that no satisfactory and conclusive definition of the two terms has been proposed. As a result, the labels ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ are often employed arbitrarily, and can be used to discriminate against those who are perceived as not belonging to the ‘native speaker’ group.

First, the concept of the ‘native speaker’ and how it has been utilised and defined in applied linguistics is presented. Next, these definitions are criticised from the sociolinguistic standpoint, showing that being a ‘native speaker’ is not merely a linguistically, but rather very much a socially determined trait. This has led many researchers to propose several alternative terms, none of which seem entirely satisfactory, however. Afterwards, the connection between racial discourse behind labelling individuals as ‘native speakers’ is outlined, highlighting that very often being a ‘native speaker’ of English is associated with being white and Western-looking. Finally, the chapter ends by critiquing the post-positivist approach which views the ‘native speaker’ as an innate, fixed, definable and objective trait, and by discussing the dilemma of which (if any) labels should be used in the rest of this work.

2.1.1 Native Speaker in Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition

The term ‘native speaker’ and mother tongue were introduced to linguistics by Bloomfield, who argued that you were a ‘native speaker’ of a particular language if from birth you were brought up to speak that language by parents and relatives who also spoke that language. Later, Chomsky (1965, p. 3) devised the concept of “an ideal-speaker-listener”, which quickly became identified with the (idealised) NS. It refers to an individual “in a completely homogeneous speech-community, who knows its (the speech community's) language perfectly and is unaffected by such grammatically irrelevant conditions as memory limitations, distractions, shifts of attention and interest, and errors”. Also, a NS will have acquired the mother tongue, as opposed to a ‘non-native speaker’ who has learnt it, thus giving them a distinct intuition about the language and access to Universal Grammar (UG), which is said to be unavailable to ‘non-native speakers’ (Love & Ansaldo, 2010).

Linguists who followed Chomsky (Dulay, Burt, & Krashen, 1982; Selinker, 1972) adopted this notion uncritically and used it in SLA research in spite of the fact that it was meant by Chomsky to be used as a theoretical construct devised for the purposes of studies about UG. As Llurda (2009b) points out, SLA researchers accepted a fixed dichotomy of ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’, and started to utilise it widely in their studies (see 2.2.3). For example, Selinker’s (1972) concept of interlanguage and fossilisation led to learners’ language being viewed in terms of its deficiencies as compared to that of the idealised NS. In fact, whole groups of people were argued to speak a fossilised version of English, and it was not until the early 90s, when Kachru’s pioneering work on World Englishes started to give some legitimacy to the Outer Circle or postcolonial Englishes (see 2.1.4).

Furthermore, Coppetiers’ (1987) research on the ultimate second language (L2) attainment placed the NS norm as the linguistic ideal ‘non-native speaker’ learners and teachers had to aspire to, yet one they could never achieve. He studied 21 ‘near-native speakers’ of French, who had to judge the grammaticality of complex French sentences. The answers were compared

with those given by twenty monolingual ‘native speakers’ of French. The results showed that none of the French ‘non-native speakers’ were ‘native-like’ in their judgments, which led him to conclude that there was a fundamental difference between ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’, and that the latter could never achieve the former’s proficiency. Similar results were obtained by numerous other researchers (Abrahamsson & Hyltenstam, 2009; Granena & Long, 2013; Sorace, 2008), thus, as Long (2014) points out, firmly establishing critical or sensitive periods for the ultimate attainment of phonology, lexis and syntax. Indeed, Abrahamsson and Hyltenstam (2009) assert that ‘native-like’ ultimate attainment is never achieved by adult learners and much less frequent among young learners than previously claimed.

Nevertheless, the above mentioned results suggesting that to a large extent ‘non-native speakers’ “always fall short, usually far short, of native-like abilities” (Long, 2014, p. 38) have been challenged by Birdsong (1992, 2004), Bialystok (1997), Davies (2001) or Donaldson (2012), among others. For example, Birdsong (1992) replicated Coppieter’s (1987) earlier study, and used 20 adult L1 English speakers who were near-native in French. More than half of his subjects showed grammaticality judgments which were within the performance range of the French ‘native speaker’ group in the study. Similarly, Davies’ (2001) study of grammaticality judgements showed that ratings of some ‘non-native speaker’ participants were indistinguishable from those of the ‘native speakers’.

It should be pointed out here, however, that both the studies which have found that ‘non-native speakers’ usually fall short of ‘native-like’ proficiency, as well as those cited in the previous paragraph which suggest that some ‘non-native speakers’ are indeed indistinguishable from ‘native speakers’ have all used rather small sample sizes typically limited to two or three dozen participants. This problem in the literature has been addressed by Hartshorne, Tenenbaum and Pinker (2018), whose ground-breaking study had a sample of 669,498 ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’. One of the numerous interesting findings which is important for the discussion at hand is that thousands of ‘non-native speakers’ who started learning English after the age of twenty scored on the grammaticality test in the same range as the ‘native speakers’.

Hence, following Birdsong (1992, 2004) and Bialystok (1997), it is argued here that ultimate language attainment, while it might not be usual, is indeed possible – and in the light of Hartshorne’s *et al.* (2018), perhaps not uncommon – even for adult L2 learners. This is further supported by Hyltenstam and Abrahamsson (2005), who convincingly argue that the highly successful ‘non-native speakers’ who have been labelled as having fallen short of ‘native-like’ abilities are in fact ‘native-like’ in practically every contexts, save a SLA laboratory. This means that it is proficient users, or what Davies (2013) calls native users, and not ‘native speakers’ *per se*, that should be viewed as the true judges of grammaticality (Paikeday, 1985b). Nevertheless, the belief in inherent and unquestionable linguistic superiority of ‘native speakers’ is still very much the prevalent one both in the minds of SLA and ELT professionals, as well as the general public (see 2.2.3 and 2.2.4). Perhaps the most vivid example is that of Medgyes (1992, 1994, 2001), who was probably the first to openly question and oppose the discrimination ‘non-native speaker’ teachers face in ELT. Despite being a staunch advocate of the capabilities of ‘non-native speakers’ as teachers, Medgyes by definition considers all ‘non-native speaker’ teachers of English as deficient users of the language (Medgyes, 1992).

As mentioned before, the first problem of adopting Chomskyan ideal speaker-hearer concept to study real ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’ through SLA is that it had been devised for theoretical purposes, so while it might be useful for work on the theories of language, it does not reflect how people, ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’ alike, use language in real life. Indeed, for Paikeday (1985b) a ‘native speaker’ is a proficient user of a specified language who can and does make mistakes and who certainly does not know their mother tongue in its entirety. This was much later echoed by Rajagopalan (2012, cited in Holliday, 2015, p. 15), who proposes that one is a ‘native speaker’ of a language one feels most proficient or competent in

(see 2.1.5). It would seem that Paikeday's view of a 'native speaker' as a proficient, but fallible user of English is much closer to reality, and consequently much more useful for SLA research, than the linguistically omniscient and infallible ideal proposed originally by Chomsky, which "is a chimera that can only exist in the fertile imagination of an ivory tower theoretical linguist" (Rajagopalan, 2005, p. 294).

Scholars who followed Paikeday, expanded on the idea that what defined a 'native speaker' was their linguistic proficiency. Perhaps the most in-depth exploration has over the years been provided by Davies (1991, 2003, 2011, 2012, 2013), who identified six linguistic factors which define a 'native speaker'. Thus a 'native speaker' is characterised by:

1. "early childhood acquisition;
2. intuition about grammar (both pertaining to dialect and standard language);
3. capability to generate spontaneous and fluent discourse;
4. capability to write creatively;
5. ability to translate into their L1;
6. and creative communicative range" (Davies, 2013, p.113).

However, none of these features, as Davies (2003, 2012, 2013) points out himself, apart from childhood acquisition, is exclusive to a 'native speaker'. Numerous 'non-native speakers' could no doubt be described as having intuition about grammar, being capable of producing spontaneous and fluent speech, as well as having a wide and creative range of communicative resources, or being able to write creatively in their L2. Likewise, it would be incorrect to assume that all 'native speakers' are on C2 level on Common European Framework of Reference, CEFR, for according to Davies (2013), C2 is the level of the *idealised* NS, which in turn corresponds to the idealised SE (see 2.2.4.1).

Consequently, it would seem that being a 'native speaker' is contingent on early childhood acquisition. The question then is, what is it that a child acquires early on that would distinguish it from a 'non-native speaker'? Clearly, it is points 2 - 6 above. However, as pointed out above, these points are not exclusive to 'non-native speakers', but can also characterise the language use of many 'non-native speakers'. This means that a proficient 'non-native speaker' can do everything a proficient 'native speaker' can (Davies, 2012).

Bearing this in mind, Davies (2003) points out that as far as linguistics is concerned, there are no valid reasons for maintaining the 'native' and 'non-native speaker' terms. This is in line with Aboshisha (2015), who notes that the 'native speaker' label is an ideological one (see 2.1.5), and it goes far beyond language proficiency. Hence, there must be other factors beyond the linguistic ones which mark the difference between a 'native speaker' and a 'non-native speaker'. The first group of these factors are sociological ones.

2.1.2 Native Speaker in Sociolinguistics

While the biodevelopmental definition proposed by Davies (1991), which argues that one is a 'native speaker' of a language one learnt first, might seem accurate at first glance, it is not without its conceptual pitfalls. For example, with people who are simultaneous bilinguals it might be impossible to ascertain which language was learnt first. More importantly, what also needs to be taken into account is the sociolinguistic environment in which the individual lives and grows up. Indeed, Davies (1991, 1996) highlights that one becomes a member of a given speech community through self-assertion. This means that one has to self-identify as a 'native speaker' of a given language in order to be considered one. Similarly, Inbar-Lourie (2001) states that both personal affiliation as well as self-confidence in one's language proficiency contribute towards construction of a linguistic identity.

However, self-affiliation to a linguistic group needs also to be validated by other members of that group (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001). This can undoubtedly produce conflicts between internally and externally perceived linguistic identity, which have been noted by Piller (2002) and Inbar-Lourie (2005). In other words, one can feel to be a 'native speaker' of a particular language, but be perceived as a 'non-native speaker' by others, whether 'native' or 'non-native speakers' of that language themselves, on the basis of one's skin colour, for example (see 2.1.4). What is more, one can learn a certain language first, and thus in Davies' (1991) terms be a 'native speaker' of that language, but because of a long stay abroad, might neither self-affiliate nor be accepted as a 'native speaker' of that language. Such situations are not uncommon and have been related by Liu (1999), Piller (2002) and Hansen (2004), for example.

Other scholars (e.g. Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001; Canagarajah, 1999a; Higgins, 2003; Phillipson, 1992) also argued that the concept of a 'native speaker' is a political one and reflects hierarchy and power. Namely, belonging to the 'native speaker' in-group can bring many benefits, prestige and power, such as access to the job market, especially as far as ELT is concerned. Consequently, according to Inbar-Lourie (2005), 'native speakers' were found to be reluctant to admit to their speech community those who they perceived lacked certain 'native speaker' characteristics. Thus, regardless of how proficient an individual might be, they can still be excluded from the 'native speaker' group based on other sociological or cultural factors (Derivry-Plard, 2013). This can be understood in terms of trying to preserve from outsiders the privilege and assets which being a 'native speaker' often entails in ELT (Inbar-Lourie, 2005). The privileged position those perceived as 'native speakers' enjoy in ELT lies at the core of native speakerism (see 2.1.2) and the professional discrimination 'non-native speakers' frequently suffer from (see 2.2.4.3).

Consequently, Davies (2003) suggested that 'native' and 'non-native speaker' identities should be viewed through sociocultural lenses, and that three conditions need to be fulfilled for one to be identified as a 'native speaker' of a given language. A 'native speaker' is thus:

1. proficient in the language in terms of the six factors identified by Davies (2003, 2011, 2012) and discussed earlier (see 2.1.1);
2. self-affiliates with the 'native speaker' speech community;
3. is accepted as a 'native speaker' by other members of that community.

This combines a purely linguistic description with a sociolinguistic view, which is validated by Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (2001) and Kramsch (1998), who all highlight that one becomes a 'native speaker' through being accepted by group members who see themselves as 'native speakers'. Nevertheless, this definition is not full proof either as a gap between the self-asserted 'native speaker' identity and that perceived by others has also been reported (Inbar-Lourie, 2005).

Piller's (2002) study is an excellent case in point. He interviewed L2 English speakers and found that about one-third of the participants could successfully pretend to be a 'native speaker', temporarily assuming this identity. Interestingly, he also observed that the respondents reported having had their 'nativeness' in their L1 questioned at times, for example after a prolonged period abroad. Thus, he proposed viewing the category in a dynamic way, as something that one does, rather than something that is assigned at birth, fixed and immutable.

Similar views are expressed by Sergeant (2013), who points out that in an increasingly global and mobile world the notion of a fixed and monolingual speakerhood does not reflect the sociolinguistic realities lived by numerous people. For example, Hansen (2004), a Danish 'native speaker' who has lived in the US for a long time, recounts how during trips back home he is often taken for a US citizen because of his slight American accent when speaking Danish. On the other hand, in the US, he is frequently mistaken for a US citizen, because of his American accent and white, Western looks (see 2.1.4). In both cases then, Hansen's Danish

speakerhood is denied, leaving him in a state of limbo as he struggles with his linguistic self-identity.

Such examples suggest that the dichotomous division between ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’ might be too simplistic to reflect how some people perceive themselves. It also creates a rigid and fixed division, and does not allow for any movement from one category to the other, thus at times leading to social and cultural exclusion, and in ELT to professional discrimination, which can manifest itself in discriminatory recruitment policies (see 2.4.3). As a result, many scholars have proposed abandoning the ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ dichotomy, suggesting alternative and more inclusive terminology.

2.1.3 Alternative Terms to Native and Non-Native Speaker

Hansen’s autoethnography illustrates a problem which many other individuals grapple with; namely, the difficulty of self-ascribing to one or the other category, either a ‘native’ or a ‘non-native speaker’ of a given language (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 2001; Inbar-Lourie, 2001; Piller, 2002). Furthermore, some multilinguals might feel that such a bipolar division is too simplistic and as a result misrepresents their identity (Faez, 2011). For example, Liu (1999) observed that there was no consensus among the teachers he interviewed as to the meaning of the terms ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’, and participants actually found it difficult to subscribe themselves to one or the other category. In addition, since being a ‘native speaker’ can carry and be attributed with powerful ideological but idealised qualities (e.g., perfect language proficiency), some ‘native speakers’ report feeling “locked within a perpetual state of fantasized non-existence known by all for what [they are] imagined to represent” (Rivers, 2013, p. 89). On the other hand, many ‘non-native speakers’ will be forever locked in the ‘non’ state, which they cannot escape neither by virtue of linguistic proficiency, nor linguistic self-affiliation, which can negatively impact their self-confidence (see 2.4.1).

Holliday (2005) also warns that the binary division can lead to a simplistic and essentialist idea of two homogenous but culturally distinct groups, each with a fixed set of characteristics, and each associated with a particular mother tongue. This is evident in research which focused on the strengths and weaknesses of ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers (see 2.4.1 and 2.4.2), and which led to a situation where the members of these two groups are defined in terms of what they can and cannot do in class based on essentialist stereotypes. However, the ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ labels understood as fixed traits inherited at birth are outdated since globalisation has led to a much more mobile world, where individuals frequently move between countries, found multilingual families, or affiliate with more than one language and culture (Faez, 2011). Consequently, according to Mesthrie (2010), none of the aforementioned definitions of a ‘native speaker’ might be particularly relevant in the current increasingly globalised world.

Furthermore, as Braine (2010) points out, the term ‘native speaker’ bears rather positive, while ‘non-native speaker’ rather negative connotations. The former is often associated with traits such as language fluency, knowledge of the target culture, linguistic authority and sociolinguistic competence. On the other hand, the latter might bring to mind negative characteristics, such as language deficiency, lack of cultural awareness and marginalisation. Another important fact is that the ‘non-native speaker’ is also defined in terms of what they are not, rather in terms of what they are: bilingual users of a language (Jenkins, 2015a). Furthermore, since no clear and agreed-on definition of the two terms exists, it has been suggested that they be dropped from ELT and SLA discourse all together (Ferguson, 1982, quoted in Davies, 2011).

Other scholars have suggested using a more inclusive label. For example, Rampton (1990) argued that the ‘native speaker’ should be replaced by expert user, a term which emphasises competence in the language, which is something that can be achieved, in contrast to language inheritance and affiliation. Such a view, according to Rampton, would be much fairer both to students and teachers. For similar reasons, Paikeday (1985b) had proposed using proficient speaker instead of ‘native speaker’, while Cook (2001a, p. 228) opts for the term “L2 user”, that is “somebody who knows and uses a second language at any level”.

More recently, Jenkins (2000, 2007, 2015a) calls for a threefold classification into monolingual English speakers, bilingual English speakers and non-bilingual English speakers. First, those who speak English, but no other language, instead of being called ‘native speakers’, are now referred to as monolingual English speakers. Second, those who speak English and another language fluently are bilingual English speakers. Finally, English users with low proficiency are non-bilingual English speakers. This new labelling has the advantage of moving away from defining a ‘non-native speaker’ as lacking when compared to a ‘native speaker’. Indeed, the term bilingual has many positive connotations, and therefore being a ‘non-native speaker’ of English immediately becomes an asset, rather than a liability. Nevertheless, it leaves the issue of proficiency open, and the division between bilingual and non-bilingual English speakers unclear, potentially open to arbitrary decisions based on prejudices and biases.

Furthermore, none of the above terms have managed to become widespread enough to displace the terms ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’, both of which continue to be used in ELT and SLA discourses. In ELT the two labels lie at the core of native speakerism (see 2.2.2), and are frequently used to marginalise and discriminate against those perceived as ‘non-native speakers’ (Braine, 2010; Houghton & Rivers, 2013b; Llorca, 2005b; Mahboob, 2010; A. Swan et al., 2015). In addition, the two terms create an antagonistic and ostracising discourse of the empowered us and marginalised them, whereby teachers are discriminated against based on their perceived speakerhood (Holliday, 2005; Llorca, 2009a). Consequently, Farrell (2015) sees the ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ labels not only as inadequate and irrelevant, but also as harmful, since they do not reflect what it means to be an effective teacher (see 2.4.5).

Moreover, as more and more individuals in the world already are or are becoming bi- or multilingual, there is a growing tendency in literature to view such a multilingual individual, rather than the idealised monolingual NS, as the linguistic norm (Cook, 2001a, 2001b, 2005; Jenkins, 2015a; Yphantides, 2013). In fact, the strict connection between one language, one people and one nation is a relatively new and Western ‘invention’ which can be traced back to 18th and 19th century, when it was used to forge national identity (Seargeant, 2013). While no doubt useful back then, it is now becoming less and less relevant, and leads to essentialist notions of language, culture and speakerhood, which are then used to discriminate against some individuals. Consequently, with the multilingual view in mind, ‘non-native speakers’ should not be regarded as failed copies of ‘native speakers’, but rather praised as individuals who speak more than one language (Cook, 2001a).

This is in line with the current research on ELF (Jenkins, 2007, 2015a, Seidlhofer, 2001, 2004, 2008, 2011) or EIL (Alsagoff, McKay, Hu, & Renandya, 2012; Sharifian, 2009), whose formulation has created an imperative for all users of English, regardless of their L1, to be able to communicate in a mutually comprehensible manner (see 2.3.1). For once a language has become and is considered an international lingua franca, no group of individuals can claim to own it (Graddol, 1997; Jenkins, 2015a; Henry G. Widdowson, 1994). As a result, the language competence of an ELF or EIL user is no longer measured against the idealised NS, but rather in terms of the speaker’s ability to be intelligible to the global English community (Modiano, 2009). Nevertheless, according to Llorca (2009b), ELF and EIL scholarship is still in need of more systematic descriptions and has as a result been questioned by some scholars (M. Swan, 2012) (see 2.3.2). Due to this, and to the fact that some teachers and learners still view SE (see

2.2.4.1) as the only appropriate model for the classroom (see 2.3.3); it still remains to be seen what impact ELF and EIL might have on the debate (see 2.3.4).

Another alternative to the dichotomous ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ division is placing ‘native speaker’ identity on a continuum, as proposed by Mahboob (2010), for example. Yet, while the linguistic proficiency could indeed be placed on a continuum, for example from zero to ‘native-like’ proficiency (Medgyes, 1992), it is doubtful whether self and perceived membership in a given speech community could also be placed on such a continuum (Faez, 2011). It might create a somewhat bizarre nomenclature where an individual would be an 80 per cent ‘native speaker’ of Spanish. Using a continuum with ‘native-like’ proficiency at one end can also be seen as further promoting the idea of the Chomskyan NS ideal, error-free omniscient model of the language, and as suggesting that an adult L2 learner cannot reach that proficiency (Coppieters, 1987; Medgyes, 1992). However, several studies have challenged this notion (see 2.1.1). It also presupposes that ‘native-like’ proficiency is the ideal model of language use, which might not be the case in ELF settings. Thus, placing ‘native-like’ proficiency at the pinnacle does not solve the problems it aims to eradicate. As a result, unless a new model of proficiency is proposed, which would not use ‘native speaker’ competency as the benchmark, the suggested continuum is likely to further propagate the belief in inherent linguistic superiority of ‘native speakers’.

Bearing all this in mind, it has been pointed out that the real relationship or difference between ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’ is that of power (Davies, 2003) and can manifest itself through linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992, 2009) and native speakerism (Holliday, 2005, 2006; Houghton & Rivers, 2013a), which is discussed later in the thesis (see 2.2.2). In addition, the arbitrariness of ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ labels, and the fact that individuals can be denied their ‘native speaker’ identity (see 2.1.2), can also result in racism, whereby only white and Western-looking individuals might be viewed as legitimate ‘native speakers’ of English (Amin, 1997; Kubota, 2002, 2011; Kubota & Lin, 2006). This problem is discussed in the following section.

2.1.4 Native Speaker and Racism

Before the connection between racism and the concept of the ‘native speaker’ of English is discussed, it is essential to briefly explain the terms Inner Circle, Outer Circle and Expanding Circle in relation to Englishes and its users around the world (B. B. Kachru, 1992a). First, the Inner Circle refers to six traditionally monolingual English-speaking countries, where English ‘native speakers’ are in the majority (the UK, the US, Canada, Ireland, Australia and New Zealand), and frequently to South Africa, despite the fact that it has a much more multilingual and multi-ethnic character. The Outer Circle refers mostly to the former non-settler colonies of the UK, such as India, Kenya or Jamaica, where English is one of several official languages, and might be used in the education system or for government purposes. Finally, the Expanding Circle is formed by countries where English is learned as a foreign language, such as China, Colombia or Poland. While the model is not without its shortcomings, it is utilised here to show how race can be used to deny some ‘native speakers’ their status, and to classify English speakers as legitimate ‘native speakers’ based on their skin colour.

As alluded to above, being a ‘native speaker’ of English is often “a proxy of whiteness” (Kubota & Fujimoto, 2013, p. 197). That is, speakers who do not come from the 7 Inner Circle countries, or who are not White and Western-looking, are not seen as real ‘native speakers’ of English, which marginalises any ‘native speakers’ of colour from the Inner Circle as well as Outer Circle countries (Higgins, 2003). By the same token, descendants of Expanding Circle emigrants to Inner Circle countries can also have their ‘native speaker’ status questioned. For

example, despite having spent her childhood and teenage years in the US, Kim (2013) reports that the employers in South Korea would only give her exam preparation or low-level classes solely due to her Korean ethnicity, and in spite of her very high language proficiency. This is evident of the comparative fallacy (see 2.4.2), or the belief that ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers have radically different strengths; for example, the latter being best at teaching low levels. Likewise, in the Gulf countries, recruiters were found to reject Inner Circle ‘native speaker’ applicants based on their non-Anglo Saxon ethnicity or even names (Ali, 2009).

Furthermore, Kubota and Fujimoto (2013) relate a story of a Japanese American ‘native speaker’ who while working in a Japanese language school, felt she was always viewed as and referred to as the Japanese American. On the other hand, an Italian American ‘native speaker’ never had their Italian descent highlighted because of that individual’s white skin colour and Western appearance, which the Japanese American lacked. Two very similar examples can be found in Javier (2016). Li - a Canadian of Hong Kong descent - and Andres - a US of Mexican descent - have their ‘native speaker’ identities questioned by students and parents, who expect a ‘native speaker’ of English to be white and Western-looking.

Indeed, Amin (2004, p. 65) argues that the ‘native speaker’ of English is imagined as someone who has “a White accent”. This indicative of the essentialist discourse whereby a particular language is associated with a particular country, nation and ethnicity (see 2.1.4). However, many Inner Circle countries have now become increasingly multi-ethnic and multilingual due to immigration and greater ease of professional mobility; and the traditional notions of who a ‘native speaker’ from the Inner Circle is and what they look like, need to be revised to reflect the multi-ethnic character of these countries. Hence, it has been pointed out that the naming and classifying of Englishes into Inner and Outer Circle has much more to do with race than linguistics (Bolton, 2006). For example, it is curious that Caribbean English is not given the same status as British, Australian or American English despite the fact that English is an official language of many Caribbean countries, and that its history is as long as that of American English, and much longer than that of its Australian cousin. According to Romney (2010), this is a prime example of the effect race has on how Englishes are described and classified. Another paradox worth mentioning which relates to how the seemingly innocuous label ‘native speaker’ of English has become racialised is that for example in Japan those ‘non-native speakers’ of English who are white and look Caucasian might also be classified as and enjoy the same benefits as their ‘native speaker’ counterparts solely based on their appearance (Toh, 2013).

All in all, as pointed out at the very beginning of this section (see 2.1.1), while commonly the term ‘native speaker’ is used to refer to somebody who has learnt a language as their L1 in early childhood, the term has unfortunately become very much racialised and can be used to arbitrarily divide English users into genuine and fake ‘native speakers’ (Kubota & Fujimoto, 2013). As a result, some individuals are labelled as ‘non-native speakers’ of English solely based on racial and ethnic prejudice, despite the fact that according to the definitions (see 2.1.1 and 2.1.2), there are no grounds to do so. On the other hand, some white and Western-looking individuals who speak English as a foreign language can escape this prejudice and be treated as ‘native speakers’ (Holliday, 2009). This situation propagates Anglo-centrism (Nayar, 1994) and the privileged position of a ‘native speaker’ elite (Henry G. Widdowson, 2003), for as Romney (2010) highlights, being Western-looking is equated with nativeness, and nativeness in turn is equated with superiority, privilege and power (see 2.2.2 and 2.2.4.2).

All in all then, it does seem that the terms ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’, despite attempts from linguists to define them, are a minefield of opinions, prejudices and biases (Aboshiha, 2015). The definitions of the two terms presented previously (see 2.1.1 and 2.1.2) have also been based on post-positivist assumptions (see 3.1.1) that identity can be neatly

bracketed into distinct and homogenous packages, each with a unique set of characteristics. The following section draws on a more constructivist approach (see 3.1.1), whereby identity and knowledge is seen as fluid, emergent and subjective, to further critique the rigid division into ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’.

2.1.5 Are Native and Non-Native Speaker Objective Terms?

In order to proceed with this project, it does seem necessary to arrive at an understanding and an objective definition of a ‘native speaker’. While the closer the term ‘native speaker’ is scrutinised, the more fuzzy, blurred, multifaceted and impossible-to-define it becomes, perhaps the definition offered by Davies (2003) comes the closest to capturing the essence of the term. He suggested that three features need to be present in order for a person to be a ‘native speaker’; namely, the individual:

1. is proficient in the language - proficiency being understood in terms of the six factors from Davies (2003, 2011, 2012);
2. self-ascribes to the ‘native speaker’ group;
3. has their identity accepted by other members of the ‘native speaker’ group.

First, such a definition seems to contain the elements that many other scholars also point to. It combines the linguistic aspects with sociolinguistic ones, which is in line with what Davies (2011) argued in a later paper; namely that mother tongue, similarly to culture, is a classically social trait. This also reflects Rampton’s (1990) distinction between linguistic expertise, inheritance and affiliation. Namely, one can be entirely proficient in a language (expertise), but not affiliate with it, or not have inherited it as the L1, and therefore not be considered a ‘native speaker’. Such a view can also account for the conflicts between self-asserted and external identity as observed by Inbar-Lourie (2005). While race is not mentioned, the racialized discourse as can be accounted for through a conflict between features 2) and 3), whereby a person sees themselves as a ‘native speaker’, but others do not, because of certain racial features of that individual (see 2.1.4).

Nevertheless, Holliday (2013, p. 25) warns that we need to beware of mistaking the ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’ labels as neutral because they are profoundly “ideological, chauvinistic and divisive”. In ELT, being accepted, or not, into the ‘native speaker’ in-group is a matter of fitting a certain image of who a ‘native speaker’ is, which is frequently connected with being white and from one of the Inner Circle countries (see 2.1.4). Aboshisha (2015) further cautions that the mythological status the ‘native speaker’ enjoys in linguistics, SLA and ELT has little to do with language proficiency, but everything with subjective opinions, biases and prejudices, which together form a deeply rooted ideology of native speakerism (see 2.1.2) used to exclude some and privilege others. Hence, it needs to be remembered that when recruiters or students demand classes with a ‘native speaker’, they most likely do not refer to linguistic expertise of the individual, but rather to the ideological and prejudiced image of a white Westerner (see 2.2.4.3 and 2.1.4).

Another problem with the labels ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ is that whenever the labels are employed, it is mistakenly assumed that they have been properly defined. All the previously mentioned attempts at defining who a ‘native speaker’ is, as well as many of the criticisms of these definitions, assume that the qualities, identity and linguistic competence of ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’ are fixed at birth and remain constant over time. Also, the bulk of the discussion on ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’ thus far, and hence in literature, has been influenced by the post-positivist paradigm, which presumes that it is possible to measure reality in objective terms (see 3.1.1). Drawing on this paradigm, post-positivist researchers would claim that the ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ labels can be objective and

neutral, so long as their definitions are properly researched and refined (Holliday, 2013, 2015). Such an approach is evident in the work of Davies (1991, 1996, 2003, 2011, 2012, 2013), among others, who has been ceaselessly attempting to properly define the term ‘native speaker’. However, these scholarly attempts can contribute to routinising and normalising the labels as objective and necessary parts of ELT profession (Holliday, 2013, 2018). They also further trivialise, homogenise and stabilise a simplistic view of ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’, thus obscuring the complexities of what it really means to be a first, second or third language user (Oral, 2015).

These post-positivist assumptions have been empirically put into question by Piller (2002), who views being a ‘native speaker’ not as a fixed trait, but something that one does, and by Faez (2011, p. 5), who calls for a constructivist approach to the problem, whereby “identity is understood as dynamic, dialogic, multiple, situated, and, more importantly, contextually negotiated”. This is in line with Kalaja and Barcelos (2003b), and Aneja (2016), who observe that one’s identity is neither fixed nor constant or predetermined, but constructed in sociocultural interactions. As a result, it can evolve in time and space. For example, Faez (2011) in his study on pre-service English teachers in Canada demonstrates that individuals might have multiple sociocultural and linguistic identities and that their self and perceived belonging to a ‘native’ or a ‘non-native speaker’ group can vary over time. Through discussion with participants, he identified 6 categories of English speakers, which gives an indication of the complexity of the term ‘native speaker’. The identified categories were:

1. bilingual;
2. English as a first language speaker;
3. second-generation English speaker;
4. English-dominant;
5. L1-dominant;
6. English-variety speaker (Faez, 2011, p. 16).

It needs to be emphasised, though, that these categories are not fixed and that the boundaries between them can be blurred as different individuals negotiate their identity. This is because any labelling is always incomplete and partial, dependent to a great extent on a situation when the labelling is done and on who does it, in addition to the fact that it is very difficult to capture the complexity of human identity with a few words or a label (Oral, 2015). For example, Liu (2004) and Hansen (2004) show how their own ‘native speaker’ identities and affiliations have evolved over time, and are heavily dependent on the speakers around them (see 2.1.2). This is further supported by the four narratives of ELT professionals presented by Aneja (2016). It is also important to note that whichever labels are used to classify speakers, these terms will inevitably be influenced by the broader ideologies and discourses in a given society, and thus from the outset can be regarded as biased (Holliday, 2013). One such ideology, native speakerism, is introduced in the following section (see 2.1.2).

Consequently, Holliday (2005, 2013, 2015) argues that the terms ‘native speaker’ and ‘non-native speaker’ need to be used with inverted commas to remind the reader and the writer that they refer only to the *so called* ‘native speaker’ and ‘non-native speaker’, and that they are ideological in nature, imprecise, divisive and reflective of the power imbalance in ELT. This arbitrariness and ideological nature of the term is reflected by the fact that while some individuals might see themselves as ‘non-native speakers’, they reject the prejudices and biases associated with the label (N. B. Doan, 2016). Using the terms in inverted commas has been adopted by numerous other scholars who have followed Holliday and is quite widespread in the recent publications on the topic (Houghton & Rivers, 2013b; Lowe & Kiczowski, 2016; Lowe & Pinner, 2016; A. Swan et al., 2015). Nevertheless, there is still a wide range of scholars who despite acknowledging the problems with the ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ labels, still use them in their research on native speakerism (Braine, 2010; Llorca, 2015; Mahboob, 2010; Selvi,

2014). The inevitable question which emerges then is whether to continue using the two terms with full awareness of their inadequacy and ideological underpinnings, or to abandon them in favour of a more inclusive alternative, or to follow Holliday's suggestion to use inverted commas. This dilemma is addressed in the following section.

2.1.6 To Label or Not to Label: That Is the Question.

The researcher interested in studying native speakerism is left with three possible choices: to abandon the labelling all together in favour of a more inclusive term (see 2.1.3), to use as if it was neutral and objective despite being aware of its inadequacy adopting one of the previously suggested definitions (see 2.1.2), or to employ inverted commas to remind the reader and the writer that the term is so called and ideological (see 2.1.5).

The problem with the first option is that the terms 'native' and 'non-native speaker' seem to be so tightly intertwined in our everyday and professional discourse that an attempt at abandoning them, however well-intentioned, is quite likely to fail. Furthermore, it is not immediately obvious that even if a more inclusive and less ideological term was to become widely used and accepted, greater equality and more inclusiveness would be achieved. On the other hand, using the terms in their present form does unfortunately run the risk of propagating the myths that surround them. This also presumes in a post-positivist fashion that an objective, measurable and testable definition of a 'native speaker' can indeed be achieved, overlooking the fact that socio-cultural factors can have an impact on how individuals construct their perception of reality (see 2.1.5). Hence, for many, especially multilingual individuals, the boundaries between being a 'native' and a 'non-native speaker' of a given language become blurry to the point of rendering them meaningless (see 2.1.3). Bearing all this in mind, the abandonment of the two labels in this work does not seem feasible nor realistic since it would negate the common sense perception that an individual is a 'native speaker' of a given language, and render the task of reviewing the literature on 'native' and 'non-native speaker' issues in ELT and SLA impossible, as both terms have been extensively used by researchers in those areas.

Since it does not seem possible at this moment to avoid using the 'native' and 'non-native speaker' labels when discussing the subject, the second possibility is to simply continue using them in the form of the acronyms NS, NNS, NEST and NNEST, as numerous scholars in the field have done and still do (Braine, 2010; Kamhi-Stein, 2016; Mahboob, 2010; Selvi, 2014). Arguably, this approach has been very successful in terms of giving scholars interested in this issue a voice, leading to a great number of publications on the topic, creation of the NNEST Caucus within TESOL International Association, which is now the NNEST Interest Section, and to raising awareness of the power imbalance in ELT between 'native' and 'non-native speakers', all of which has been called the NNEST movement (Kamhi-Stein, 2016; Selvi, 2014, 2016). For example, Braine (2010, 2012) argues that since the acronym NNEST started to be employed more often in scholarly publications and discussion over two decades ago, there has been a surge in its use to the extent that it has now lost some of its pejorative connotations and become politically correct. Indeed, so far 298 articles and 58 book chapters devoted to 'native' and 'non-native speaker' issues have been published, 83 per cent of which came after the inception of the NNEST Caucus (Kamhi-Stein, 2016). There is little doubt then that using the acronyms NS, NNS, NEST and NNEST has had some positive impact and has led to questioning the privileged position of 'native speakers' in ELT.

Nevertheless, one important issue that the NNEST movement has utterly failed at is bringing about a more level professional playing field between the two groups (Kamhi-Stein, 2016; Kumaravadivelu, 2016). As a result, those who are seen as 'non-native speakers' - mostly

on subjective reasons (see 2.1.4 and 2.1.5) which have little to do with their language proficiency, let alone teaching skills - still suffer from marginalisation, prejudice and discrimination in ELT (Kiczkowiak & Wu, 2018). Although the reasons for this might be manifold and multifaceted, it seems to me that the continuous use of these acronyms as if they did objectively, neutrally and adequately describe the linguistic identities of English speakers might have contributed to what Holliday (2013, 2015, 2018) cautions against, that is, a domestication and normalisation of the labels, making them seem as if they were an inextricable and normal part of ELT profession. This domestication and social acceptance is crucial to the maintenance of any ideology (see 2.2.1), in this case that of native speakerism (see 2.2.2).

Consequently, bearing in mind the lack of precise definition of the terms, as well as their ideological connotations, I decided that they will be used here with inverted commas as ‘native speaker’ and ‘non-native speaker’, following Holliday (2005). While it would be ideal not to have to use the two terms at all and to avoid bracketing individuals, this does not yet seem feasible as so far there is a lack of more suitable alternatives, and as the two terms are very deeply imbedded both in professional ELT and SLA discourses, as well as in the minds of the general public. Hence refusing to use the terms would mean denying the fact that many individuals see themselves and others as ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’ of a particular language. However, simply using the terms without any indication of their ideological nature seems mistaken since it would mean pretending they are objective, definable and value-free, when in fact they are not (see 2.1.3, 2.1.4 and 2.1.5).

Furthermore, using the ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ labels as defined categories is also indicative of a post-positivist paradigm and more quantitative research (see 3.1.1). Since this PhD project follows a pragmatist paradigm (see 3.1.2) and uses a mixed methods design (see 3.2.1), it seems that using ‘native speaker’ and ‘non-native speaker’ in inverted commas can be viewed as a pragmatic solution between a purely constructivist approach, which might aim to reject all labels to describe a subjective reality of particular individuals, and the post-positivist stance of using the labels as objective and neutral terms which accurately define reality.

In addition, the use of inverted commas indicates and emphasises that the terms are always ‘so called’, and thus often subjective, ideological, socially constructed and reflective of a profound ideology referred to as native speakerism (see 2.2.2). However, this use does not reject that ‘native speakers’ exist, nor that for some people the terms are very much reflective of their linguistic identity. What it does posit, though, is that for different people the labels can mean slightly different things, which indeed is reflected by the first Research Question (RQ) (see 3.3.2). It also acknowledges the distinction between the flesh and blood ‘native speaker’ (that is, all of us), and the idealised NS (Davies, 2003, 2012, 2013). The former, the ‘native speaker’, is very much the reality, and by no means a perfect or infallible language user. The latter, the NS, on the other hand, is a linguistic fiction, an idealisation (see 2.1.1). Finally, this approach can also serve to remind the author and the reader that any time the term ‘native speaker’ is used in professional ELT and SLA discourse, the assumptions behind it need to be remembered and questioned.

In this sense it might be worth delineating who a ‘native speaker’ is *not*, in an attempt to demythologise the term, and show its complexity for “generations of applied linguistic mythmaking in the indubitable superiority and the impregnable infallibility of the ‘native speaker’ has created stereotypes that die hard” (Nayar, 1994, p. 4). Hence, contrary to the common, but mistaken belief, a ‘native speaker’ of a given language:

- is *not* always completely proficient in that language;
- does *not* speak without an accent;
- is *not* necessarily knowledgeable about the target culture;
- is *not* the ideal teacher;
- is *not* the sole arbiter of linguistic correctness and appropriateness;

- does *not* know everything about that language;
- is *not* a defined, neutral and value-free category;
- does *not* own the language;
- is *not* always a skilled writer or reader in that language;
- is *not* necessarily a monolingual;
- does *not* always remain a ‘native speaker’ for the rest of their life;
- is *not* a biological trait connected to one’s birth place and country;
- is *not* always born, raised and educated in that language;
- did *not* necessarily learn that language as their first or mother tongue;
- does *not* have to identify with that ‘native speaker’ group nor be accepted by them.

Therefore, putting the ‘native speaker’ in inverted commas is also used to differentiate it from the often idealised language user, the NS, with its linguistic infallibility and omniscience first proposed by Chomsky and then adopted by SLA researchers (see 2.1.1). In this sense, a ‘native speaker’, as opposed to the NS, can be seen as a closer reflection of what the real, flesh and blood - as Davies (2003) put it - mother tongue speaker of a language is. Finally, to simplify matters, ‘native speaker’ in this work will refer to a ‘native speaker’ of English unless otherwise stated. Similarly, the concept of a ‘non-native speaker’ will be used to mean in this thesis a ‘non-native speaker’ of English unless otherwise stated.

However, the term ‘non-native speaker’ also needs to be demythologised as it has often been identified in terms of what it is not, leading to an image of an individual that is always linguistically lacking and irreparably inferior to a ‘native speaker’. Once the myths surrounding ‘native speaker’ have been exposed and acknowledged, the ‘non-native speaker’ can also be viewed in a more positive light, as somebody who:

- is a bi or multilingual English user;
- is bi or multicultural;
- has managed to learn English to a certain degree of fluency;
- can become a successful English teacher;
- can be a reliable judge of grammaticality;
- is *not* necessarily linguistically deficient as compared to the ‘native speaker’;
- can be a reliable language model for students;
- is an example of a successful language learner.

This is not to say that all ‘non-native speakers’ will have the abovementioned characteristics as this would be tantamount to creating new regimes of truth (see 2.1.3, 2.1.5 and 2.1.6). Nevertheless, the above list serves as a reminder that ‘non-native speakers’ should not always be viewed in negative light based on the ‘non’ prefix, nor that they should be compared to ‘native speakers’. Rather, they should be seen and researched in their own light, as bilingual English users (Cook, 2001a, 2012; Jenkins, 2007).

All in all, then, when the terms ‘native speaker’ and ‘non-native speaker’ are used in this work, the inverted commas should hopefully serve to remind both the author and the reader of the inherent subjectivity of the labels, their ideological underpinnings and myths surrounding them. They are also to differentiate from NS and NNS, the former of which has often been endowed in linguistics, SLA and ELT discourse with nearly supernatural linguistic prowess, while the latter *a priori* assumed to be a deficient imitation (see 2.1.1). These false assumptions about a ‘native speaker’ and their linguistic capabilities have been exploited, maintained and promoted through the ideology of native speakerism, which is presented in the next section.

2.2 Ideology of Native Speakerism and Discourses Supporting It

The discussion thus far shows that the terms ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ are ambiguous, difficult to define, and to a large extent ideological. As a result, they can be used to discriminate speakers based on their perceived belonging to one of the two groups. This realisation is important since an uncritical and widespread use of these terms in SLA and ELT has led to an entrenchment of an ideology referred to as native speakerism. This ideology will be the focus of this section.

It starts by briefly explaining the concepts of ideology and discourse as they will be used in this thesis. Then, the ideology of native speakerism is defined. That section also shows how the discourses of ‘native speaker’ linguistic superiority (see 2.1.1), ‘us’ vs. ‘them’ dichotomy (see 2.1.3) or racism (see 2.1.4) have been used to buttress and spread this ideology. In linguistics and SLA, these discourses have been used to such a degree that they have come to be perceived as normal and value-free. Then, the discourse of SE is presented to show how it has also been employed to support native speakerism. Finally, this section ends by presenting the role power and politics has played in spreading the ideology.

2.2.1 Ideology and Discourse as Used in this Thesis

Before the ideology of native speakerism is defined, and its influence on ELT shown, it is necessary to first briefly outline how the term ideology is used in this thesis. According to Eagleton (2007), there are numerous definitions of ideology in literature, some of which are mutually exclusive. For the most part, these definitions view ideology as a negative force which leads to maintaining the power and privilege of an elite or ruling class (Van Dijk, 1998). This is frequently achieved through promoting and spreading false beliefs, which nonetheless correspond to popular views in a given society. More recently, however, it has been pointed out that positive ideologies, such as feminism, exist too. Therefore, broader definitions of ideology are needed. Nevertheless, for the purposes of this thesis, ideology is used in the former sense, that is, as a group of negative, but popular, beliefs which are propagated and maintained in order to guard the privilege of those holding power. While perhaps simplistic and not reflective of the complexity of the term ideology, this use seems adequate in order to describe native speakerism in ELT.

Furthermore, it is necessary to briefly define the term discourse as used in this project, when referring to a discourse or discourses which buttress or propagate the ideology of native speakerism. According to Fairclough (1992), while discourse can have multiple meanings (similarly to ideology), it is frequently utilised to refer to how knowledge and social practice are structured. Discourse or discourses are used in this thesis to mean something very similar to what Foucault (1980, p. 79) termed regimes of truth; that is, “sets of understandings that legitimize particular sociolinguistic attitudes and practices”. Returning to native speakerism, it is then an ideology which is supported and spread through SLA and ELT discourse using knowledge and social constructs. For example, the terms ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ are defined as opposites, constructing regimes of truth. These are then used to form social practices which lead in ELT to marginalisation of those who are not perceived as ‘native speakers’.

To summarise, native speakerism is an ideology which uses the discourse of linguistic superiority of ‘native speakers’ and linguistic deficiency of ‘non-native speakers’ to create and maintain a social practice which privileges those labelled as ‘native speakers’, thus marginalising those labelled as ‘non-native speakers’. In the next section native speakerism is defined, and the sections that follow show how this ideology has been maintained through discourses prevalent in SLA research, SE and linguistic imperialism.

2.2.2 Ideology of Native Speakerism: What Is It?

The term native speakerism was originally coined by Holliday (2005, 2006), who used it in reference to the notion that the linguistic and pedagogical ideals of teaching English spring from Western culture, which a ‘native speaker’ embodies. Houghton and Rivers (2013a) point out that native speakerism has its roots in the dichotomous discourse of us and them, ‘native speakers’ and ‘non-native speakers’ (see 2.1.3), where the former are usually seen as the norm and ideal both in terms of language use and teaching skills, while the latter as deficient and inferior. This echoes Phillipson’s (1992) ‘native speaker’ fallacy, which is a view that a ‘native speaker’ is linguistically and instructionally superior to a ‘non-native speaker’ (see 2.2.4.2). However, Holliday’s concept is much broader and far-reaching, showing how essentialist notions of culture, language and its speakers are used to other and stereotype people based on their L1.

Holliday (2005) applies native speakerism to show that there has been a profound, monolingual and Anglocentric bias in many of the fundamental concepts in SLA and ELT (see 2.2.3), which are to a large extent based on the discourse that sees the ‘native speaker’ as an infallible and omniscient linguistic ideal to which all ‘non-native speakers’ should be compared in SLA research (see 2.1.1). The ideology of native speakerism is also evident in the discourse of SE (see 2.2.4.1) and ELT recruitment policies (see 2.2.4.3)(Bhatt, 2002), all of which are biased in favour of the ‘native speaker’ of English. Reis (2011) notes that this situation has not only had a negative effect on careers of many ‘non-native speaker’ teachers, but it has also served to undermine the value of professionalism and qualifications as many English teachers seem to be hired solely based on their mother tongue (see 2.2.4.3).

Holliday (2005) highlights that the marginalisation of ‘non-native speakers’ through native speakerism is a form of racism as it promotes and maintains the privileged status of - as Widdowson (2003) put it - a self-selected elite, but also because more often than not one qualifies as a ‘native speaker’ based on one’s perceived race or ethnicity (see 2.1.4). This discourse places ‘native speaker’ language norms, or SE (see 2.2.4.1), as the ideal of use, instruction and learning, often with a disregard for the teaching, cultural and learner context (Canagarajah, 2006; Leung, 2005; Rudolph, Selvi, & Yazan, 2015). These norms are then vigorously promoted as the only correct ways of speaking and teaching the language granting privilege to those who know and use these norms. Phillipson (1992) famously dubbed this situation linguistic imperialism, and used the term to show that since the 1960s, in ELT the Inner Circle professionals and institutions have arrogated to themselves the sole right to dictate how English should be taught and learned. Inherent to this view is what Holliday (2005, 2013, 2015) calls cultural disbelief, which “finds the cultural background of ‘non-native speaker’ teachers, and indeed students, deficient and problematic” (Holliday, 2013, p. 21). Hence, there is a profound disbelief that those labelled ‘non-native speakers’ can make any useful or meaningful contributions in the ELT classroom, be it as teachers or students. In response, Holliday (2015) suggests a shift towards cultural belief; namely, a belief that all teachers, regardless of their mother tongue or background, can make meaningful contributions to the profession. This view is adopted in this work when the comparative fallacy is critiqued (see 2.4.2), or when the qualities of effective teachers are discussed (see 2.4.5). It can also be seen as an underlying theme in the discussion of ELF scholarship (see 2.3).

Native speakerism and cultural disbelief have also led to an othering of ‘non-native speaker’ students, teachers and scholars, and to forming a false and essentialist view of a culturally, instructionally and linguistically deficient other, whose behaviour is problematic and needs to be corrected or trained in order to fit the right and unproblematic ELT methods produced in the English-speaking West (Holliday, 2005). This reflects the us and them discourse (see 2.1.3), whereby ‘non-native speakers’ are seen as restricted by their inferior

cultural background, and incapable of adopting the supposedly superior ‘native speaker’ norms of behaviour, culture and language. For example, teachers might blame students’ failure to engage in class on their deficient ‘non-native speaker’ culture, thus not noticing the real reasons, such as difficulty of the course or inappropriateness of the materials (Kamal, 2015). Furthermore, ‘native speaker’ teachers might refuse to accept or adapt to the local approach to teaching, and see it as their necessity to train learners in critical thinking or learner autonomy, skills ‘non-native speaker’ students supposedly lack (Canh, 2013). On the other hand, Holliday (2015) observes that if cultural belief is adopted, the different ‘non-native speaker’ cultures and behaviours should be seen as having the potential not only to make the English language richer, but also to enhance and develop how it is learnt and taught.

However, it is not only ‘non-native speakers’ that can fall victims of the process of othering. As Houghton and Rivers (2013a) note, it would be reductionist and simplistic to view native speakerism only as another manifestation of imperialism and colonialism whose sole perpetrators are always ‘native speakers’ and whose sole victims are inevitably ‘non-native speakers’. Indeed, the ideology of native speakerism is to a lesser or greater extent present in the thinking of most ELT professionals (Holliday, 2005). As a result, it is not uncommon that ‘native speakers’ which do not fit a certain imagined and idealised profile in a given society of how a ‘native speaker’ should act and what they should look like (see 2.1.4) will be discriminated against often by local ‘non-native speaker’ ELT professionals or students (Hayes, 2013; Rivers, 2013; Toh, 2013). Indeed, despite the fact that ‘native speaker’ teachers have much to offer, their potential to contribute positively to ELT is often hindered by the ideology of native speakerism (Holliday, 2013). For example, as discussed later in the thesis (see 2.3.4), in some countries ‘native speakers’ are hired solely for being a ‘native speaker’, and not for their pedagogical skills (Pablo, 2015). This leads to a situation where a ‘native speaker’ is not seen as a teacher, but only as a provider of an idealised quality of ‘nativeness’, and all that it entails in a particular socio-cultural context. In addition, due to the antagonising us and them discourse (see 2.1.3), the contact with local teachers might be very limited. For example, ‘native speaker’ teachers in Vietnam studied by Canh (2013) complained that they felt isolated from the local teaching community. Bearing all this in mind, Houghton and Rivers (2013a) propose modifying Holliday’s (2005, 2006) original definition of native speakerism in order to capture the complexity and bidirectionality of prejudice and privilege that (not) being a ‘native speaker’ can create, defining it as:

(...) a prejudice, stereotyping and/or discrimination, typically by or against foreign language teachers, on the basis of either being or not being perceived and categorized as a native speaker of a particular language. (...) Its endorsement positions individuals from certain language groups as being innately superior to individuals of other language groups (Houghton & Rivers, 2013a, p. 14).

While the ideology of native speakerism was coined only ten years ago by Holliday (2005) and redefined even more recently by Houghton and Rivers (2013a), its presence can be detected much earlier. It is important to remember that dominant ideologies do not spread and maintain their hegemonic position only because they are sustained by those in power; ideologies such as native speakerism maintain their grip and dominance because they are present and supported by a variety of prevalent and widespread discourses which make them seem perfectly normal (Shuck, 2006) (see 2.2.1). Indeed, the ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ labels have been present in linguistics from very early on, without being appropriately problematised (see 2.1.1 and 2.1.2). Inadvertently, their use led then to an entrenchment of the ideology, and of the view that the ‘native speaker’ was the ideal language model and the focus of SLA research. The ‘native speaker’ was endowed with a litany of idealised qualities, and came to be viewed as the norm, the desired outcome of SLA. On the other hand, the ‘non-native speaker’ started to be viewed as deficient, the undesired outcome of incomplete SLA.

2.2.3 Roots of Native Speakerism: SLA Research

Indeed, Llorca (2009a), Mahboob (2010) and Cook (2012) see the roots of the favouritism ‘native speakers’ enjoy in ELT in a predominantly monolingual orientation dominating SLA studies. First, it became unquestionable that the focus of SLA research should be the ‘native speaker’ (Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Cook, 2012). Consequently, most data on SLA was gathered in predominantly monolingual settings, while calls for a greater focus on contexts where bi/multilingualism is the norm were largely ignored (Han, 2004; Y. Kachru, 1994). This monolingual slant in SLA was based on Chomsky’s (1965) concepts of an ideal-speaker-listener and a homogenous speech community (see 2.1.1), thus conveniently overlooking the fact that they had been devised for the purposes of theoretical and not applied linguistics (Mahboob, 2005). Cook (2012) notes that the Chomskyan ideal NS was set as a linguistic benchmark applied to analysing linguistic performance in SLA; thus further supporting the idea of a unique, SE spoken by a homogenous group of idealised NSs (see 2.2.4.1).

As SLA was established as a scientific discipline after the Second World War, its primary focus became implementing the standards (including ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ concepts) which had been prescribed by linguistics (Pennycook, 1994). Bhatt (2002) highlights that numerous SLA experts adopted the monolingual discourse without much criticism, which contributed to its gaining prominence. For example, many fundamental SLA concepts, such as fossilisation, interlanguage or communicative competence make use of the idealised linguistic competence of a ‘native speaker’ (Kumaravadivelu, 2012). Selinker’s (1972) concepts of interlanguage and fossilisation reflected the view that there was a homogenous and ideal ‘native speaker’ model of the target language learners should aspire to, and against which their own language use was to be measured as an interlanguage, and inevitably become fossilised. On a more profound level, the concepts also presupposed that the ‘native speaker’ was a well-defined and unambiguous term which scholars could freely refer to (see 2.1.5 for criticism of this approach). Furthermore, Jenkins (2006), Mahboob (2005), and Firth and Wagner (1997) all observe that the theory of fossilisation developed by Selinker presupposes that a ‘non-native speaker’ can never reach ‘native speaker’ proficiency, thus creating an implicit negative bias against the ‘non-native speaker’. In other words, a ‘non-native speaker’ is perpetually locked in a situation where their language use is to a lesser or greater extent forever deficient in comparison to the ‘native speaker’ model even though they are constantly encouraged to imitate this model. This is despite the fact that some studies show there is no difference in judgments of grammaticality, for example, between ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’ (see 2.1.2).

Hence, when the terms interlanguage and fossilisation are examined more critically, it becomes clear that lurking behind them there is a hidden native speakerist discourse which consciously or not aims at privileging the ‘native speaker’. Furthermore, as Jenkins (2006) points out, the idea that it is every English language learner’s goal to speak like a ‘native speaker’, which is assumed *a priori* with both concepts, is a rather questionable assumption bearing in mind that the majority of interactions in English take place with no ‘native speakers’ present (see 2.3.1). Nevertheless, Inner Circle norms, particularly the American and British ones, are still very much the only goals of both teaching and testing in EFL and ESL (Jenkins, 2007; Seidlhofer, 2011).

These developments in SLA have had a profound influence on ELT methodology, remaining to this day the bedrock of ELT globally (Leung, 2005). For example, SLA propagated the view that interaction with a ‘native speaker’ was pivotal for language learning to take place. As a result, since the advent of Communicative Approach, the ‘native speaker’ was seen as ideal for promoting and encouraging communication in the class, and should thus be preferred over any ‘non-native speaker’ (Llorca, 2009b). The learner had now not only to master the structure of the language, but also be able to apply it correctly in communicative

situations, both of which goals were of course measured against the ‘native speaker’ competence.

Canagarajah (1999b, p. 3) summarises it thus:

ELT [has] hitherto been influenced (perhaps unwittingly) by the dichotomising perspectives referred to above. A debilitating monolingual/monocultural bias has revealed itself in the insistence on ‘standard’ English as the norm, the refusal to grant an active role to the students’ first language in the learning and acquisition of English, the marginalization of ‘non-native’ English teachers, and the intensive negativity shown by the pedagogies and discourses towards the indigenous cultural traditions.

Consequently, in a native speakerist fashion, the superiority of some speakers and language use is assumed based on their ‘nativeness’. On the other hand, those labelled ‘non-native speakers’ are othered and *a priori* considered linguistically deficient and incapable of escaping their inferiority. The following section focuses on the various discourses within ELT that have been used to support this ideology.

2.2.4 Discourses Supporting Native Speakerism in ELT

As pointed out above (see 2.2.1), discourse in this thesis is used to mean a regime of truth (Foucault, 1980), or a particular set of knowledge, truths or understandings that helps normalise and justify within a society a certain set of practices, or an ideology. Native speakerism in ELT is maintained and supported by a plethora of discourses, which are frequently taken to be unquestionable truths. These discourses can be categorised as follows. First, the dichotomy between ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’ (see 2.1) lies at the very core of the ideology since it allows to normalise and justify the division of teachers according to their ‘nativeness’. Second, the discourse of SE (see 2.2.4.1) helps legitimise Inner Circle Englishes as the only correct ones, and the ‘native speakers’ as its natural owners. This contributes to the discourse of the ‘native speaker’ fallacy (see 2.2.4.2), which maintains that the ‘native speaker’ is the ideal teacher of the language. Furthermore, ‘native speakers’ are also seen as embodiments of a superior teaching methodology which originates in the ‘native-speaking’ West. This methodology is propagated through international teacher training courses. In addition, native speakerism is maintained through ELT recruitment discourse (see 2.2.4.3), which legitimises discriminatory hiring policies that openly favour ‘native speaker’ teachers. Yet another discourse that contributes to the normalisation of native speakerism is present in ELT course books, which have been found to promote an Anglocentric view of the English language and its speakers (see 2.2.4.4). Finally, the economic discourse and that of power and privilege also play a very important role in supporting native speakerism since those in power have a significant vested interest in perpetuating the status quo.

This brief introduction shows that there are indeed numerous discourses present in ELT which give legitimacy to native speakerism. However, it is not possible to discuss them all in detail in this thesis due to limitations of space. Therefore, only four of the aforementioned discourses will be discussed below; namely SE, the native speaker fallacy, ELT recruitment policies and ELT course books. These were chosen based on their perceived relevance to the specific focus of this project and the RQs chosen (see 3.3.2).

2.2.4.1 Standard English and Native Speakerism

First, being a ‘native speaker’ is often associated with speaking SE, which can be misconstrued as a homogenous entity to which any ‘native speaker’, but no ‘non-native speaker’, has full access. Consequently, it is important to briefly scrutinise the concept of SE in order to better

understand what role it plays and how it is connected to the ideology of native speakerism. It is also important to remember that language is power, and can act as a gatekeeper, privileging certain groups and marginalising others (Pennycook, 2001).

While defining SE is certainly not an easy task (Jenkins, 2007), most scholars agree that the term refers to the grammar utilised by educated native speakers, but not to the pronunciation (Hughes & Trudgill, 1987; Trudgill & Hannah, 2008). This is mainly because standardising an accent can prove difficult (Trudgill, 1999) as it is usually quite closely intertwined with an individual's identity and social class (Jenkins, 2000). Nevertheless, in Britain standard pronunciation has been commonly associated since the 18th century with Received Pronunciation (RP) (McArthur, 2003). Furthermore, Crystal (2003) points out that SE is a variety spoken by a minority, and as such does not reflect the whole of English. At the same time, SE is traditionally associated with upper classes (McArthur, 2002), and with a variety which is regarded as the most prestigious (Crystal, 2003; Trudgill, 1999). Trudgill (1999) concludes that SE is not a language, but a dialect different from other dialects in that it is a social one. As a result, since SE is associated with the elite, it has a strong connection to power and hierarchy, which may lead to a situation in which those who do not or cannot speak it are marginalised or even discriminated against.

It is this SE that emerged as the norm for teaching and learning. Of course, this SE was to be that spoken by 'native speakers' in the Inner Circle, preferably in the UK or the US, which were now to be seen as the guardians of the standards of English (Pennycook, 1994). Lowe and Pinner (2016) convincingly show how the notion of authentic language, which is often taken to mean SE, is closely connected to and buttresses native speakerism. Such an outlook on English and its speakers can serve to marginalise many 'native speakers' from the Kachruvian Outer Circle, 'non-native speakers' from both Outer and Expanding Circles, as well as any 'native speakers' from the Inner Circle who fail to meet the norms of SE (see 2.1.4).

However, it needs to be remembered that SE is not a monolithic, homogenous and clearly demarcated entity. To the contrary, despite the above mentioned efforts to define it, linguists such as Trudgill (1999) acknowledge that there is a considerable degree of confusion as to what SE really means. So, even in the same publication the same authors might claim SE to be different things. For example, Trudgill and Hannah (2008) first assert that SE only pertains to grammar (p.3), but then also extend it to vocabulary as used by 'educated' 'native speakers' from the Inner Circle (p.5). 'Educated' has been put in inverted commas, because as Seidlhofer (2011) highlights, linguists who attempt to thus define SE do not really agree on what being 'educated' means or does not mean. Furthermore, since purely linguistic criteria for differentiating one variety of language from another do not exist, and since it is self-evident that no variety of a language is inherently superior to any other variety (McKenzie, 2008; Seidlhofer, 2011), there must be less objective reasons for establishing and maintaining a particular variety as the only correct standard, and a particular group of speakers as the only legitimate bearers of this standard. These reasons are very often related to power, privilege and politics, and to what Phillipson (1992) referred to and famously described as linguistic imperialism.

Furthermore, SE pronouncements rest on essentialist 18th century ideals of stable and homogenous nation of monolingual speakers of a distinct and homogenous national language (Seargeant, 2013). They are also based on the false but still widespread assumption that a 'native speaker' owns and knows a language in its entirety (Seidlhofer, 2011). In addition, SE as any language (variety) is in essence an abstraction, a fictional account of how the ideal NS would use the language, but not representative of how the real 'native speaker' actually uses it (Seidlhofer, 2011). Consequently, Pennycook (2010) argues that scholars must go beyond the nationalist mind-set when describing English in order to understand and appreciate its changing character as an international language. Nevertheless, all this has to a large extent been

conveniently ignored by mainstream SLA and ELT discourse, which still sees ‘native speakers’ as the main objects of study, as the only adequate models of English, and as the ultimate, yet unachievable benchmark against which all ‘non-native speakers’ should be tested. Thus, in a native speakerist fashion, such discourse elevates ‘native speakers’ to the status of ideal teachers, marginalising their ‘non-native speaker’ colleagues.

2.2.4.2 Native Speaker Fallacy and Native Speakerism

This was dubbed by Phillipson (1992) the ‘native speaker’ fallacy. However, the ‘native speakers’ in the ‘native speaker’ fallacy are often only those that fit the ideal image of the ‘native speaker’ (see 2.1.4). Consequently, the English language spoken by non-white and non-Caucasian populations in the Outer Circle in for example Kenya or India does not enjoy the same status or repute as does British or American English (Derivry-Plard, 2013). To use Lowe and Pinner’s (2016) terminology, Kenyan and Indian English are not considered authentic Englishes. Likewise, ‘non-native speaker’ Englishes or ELF (see 2.3.1) are also seen as less authentic. Nonetheless, from a purely linguistic point of view, there is nothing less ‘authentic’ about them. Figure 1 below illustrates the traditional hierarchy of Englishes with SE, spoken by a minority of ‘native speakers’, at the pinnacle:

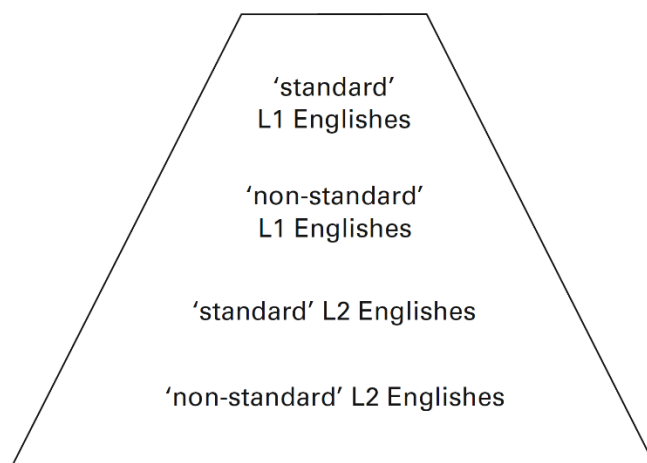


Figure 1. Traditional hierarchy of Englishes (Jenkins, 2015a, p. 117)

Bearing this in mind, it is not surprising that very early on the ‘native speaker’ was designated the ideal English teacher and has since reigned supreme over their ELT domain, “safely ensconced in a lofty position of unassailable authority and absolute infallibility” (Rajagopalan, 2005, p. 285). Since the emphasis in SLA research (see 2.2.3), which was reflected by the same focus in ELT methodologies, was on imitating as closely as possible the monolingual ‘native speaker’ norms of language use, and since the ‘non-native speaker’ was by definition a defective communicator with a limited communicative competence (Firth & Wagner, 1997), it is evident why the ‘non-native speaker’, even a highly proficient one, would always remain a ‘near-native’, a failed and faked copy, and thus a failed teacher.

However, Widdowson (1994) highlights that while the intimate relationship a ‘native speaker’ has with the language might make them an expert informant on some aspects of the language, it certainly does not *a priori* convert them into an expert instructor. He also further criticises the notion that ‘native speakers’ are better suited for teaching English, pointing out that this group is not exactly well-known for acquiring languages themselves (Henry G. Widdowson, 1994), which can no doubt contribute to being an effective teacher (see 2.4.5). As a result, one of the more recent suggestions to counter the monolingual view of ELT was put

forward by Mahboob (2010) who called for a new, multicultural and multilingual approach to EFL teaching and learning, which he calls the NNEST lens. Through it, Mahboob argues that ELT professionals and SLA researchers should take diversity and multilingualism as a starting point, which could allow them to look afresh at issues in theoretical, applied and educational linguistics which have for a long time suffered from a monolingual bias (see 2.2.3).

The 'native speaker' fallacy is dependent on four other myths which have been identified and debunked by B. B. Kachru (1992a). First, the interlocutor myth assumes that English is primarily learnt to interact with 'native speakers' of English, which ELF scholarship (see 2.3.1) shows to be false. Indeed, Widdowson (1997) points out that most students learn English to gain access to global communities of experts, such as businessmen or scientists, and use English for transactional purposes with other 'non-native speakers', rather than in order to chat with 'native speakers'.

Second, Kachru identifies the monoculture myth, or the belief that learners of English learn the language to understand British and American culture, a belief that could be regarded as imperialistic and neo-colonial. The first problem is that it assumes the existence of a homogenous underlying culture of English of which a 'native speaker' is an embodiment (Seargeant, 2013), which evokes 18th and 19th century essentialist ideas of homogenous nations each represented by a distinct homogenous language and culture. Furthermore, if English is an international language (see 2.3.1), there seems to be little benefit in learners understanding British, American, or any other 'native speaker' culture since most of them will use English for purely transactional purposes, most likely with other 'non-native speaker', or Outer Circle speakers. Hence, Baumgardner (2006) points out that it might be more appropriate for local teachers to use English to transmit their own cultural values and traditions.

Third, the 'native speaker' fallacy rests on the model-dependency myth, that is, the view that SE (see 2.2.4.1), most often associated with British and American English, is and should be taught as the main model of the language. However, again, there seem to be no valid reason why these two varieties should be the models, especially that there are numerous other perfectly legitimate Englishes in the Outer Circle. Also, as Graddol (2006) remarks, English is learnt for purely pragmatic and instrumental reasons, to communicate on an international level. And in fact, 'native speakers' are notoriously poor at international communication in English (Graddol, 2006). Hence, there is no evidence that adopting a 'native speaker' standard, or SE, would lead to greater intelligibility on an international level, nor that 'native speaker' standards are universally more intelligible than 'non-native speaker' ones (Smith & Nelson, 2006). Finally, as pointed out above, the model-dependency myth also assumes that only a 'native speaker' can be a successful model of the language, a model which no 'non-native speaker' will ever be able to attain, yet all are encouraged to mimic. The logic here seems flawed, and the basic premise is also questionable from an empirical point of view (see 2.1.3).

The fourth pillar behind the 'native speaker' fallacy is the cassandra myth, which addresses the view that the spread and diversification of Englishes causes language decay and a fall in standards, or even a complete break-up of the language into mutually incomprehensible new languages (see e.g. Quirk, 1990). While it is true that languages change constantly through time and through regions, at any given time there is always a standard code understandable to the community that uses it, which develops endonormatively, or from within that community, rather than being imposed by an external entity. Furthermore, Smith and Nelson (2006) remark that not all English speakers need to be intelligible to all others, but only to those who they choose to be intelligible to. This is why Crystal (1998) thinks it is likely that in the future the majority of English speakers will be bidialectal; that is, they will be fluent in a local, regional or national variety of English within their speech community, thus preserving their local tradition, culture and identity; and an international variety, comprehensible to English speakers from outside the local speech community.

Finally, the ‘native speaker’ fallacy is also based on the belief that a ‘native speaker’ knows their L1 perfectly, to a level which no ‘non-native speaker’ can ever achieve. This belief has its roots in the Chomskyan idealised NS (see 2.1.1), which, however, has been criticised by various scholars, such as Paikeday (1985b, p. 12), who refers to it as “a figment of linguist’s imagination”, and Davies (2003, p. 197), who dubbed it a “fine myth” which cannot be applied to ‘native speakers’, as in reality no ‘native speaker’ belongs to a completely homogenous community, nor knows their language perfectly, a fact later acknowledged by Chomsky himself (Davies, 2011). For as Faez (2011) rightly notes, language errors are also present and prevalent in the English used by ‘native speakers’. In addition, since the goal of most EFL and ESL courses is to develop all four skills, it is doubtful whether a ‘native speaker’ would be equally perfect and omniscient in all four of them solely based on their birth right (Davies, 2013; Rajagopalan, 2005).

Yet, the fact that the ‘native’ ideal to which the ‘non-native speaker’ has always been compared was an abstract, theoretical concept “did little to discourage or deter these dotting worshippers of the nativity scene, who preferred to overlook [this] inconvenient detail” (Rajagopalan, 2005, p. 286). Still now in many countries, the discussions concerning recruitment and the right model of English have little to do with the real ‘native speaker’ teachers, but everything with an idealised Chomskian NS upon whom a variety of equally idealised and essentialist socio-cultural and linguistic attributes are thrust (Toh, 2013). Thus, as Nayar (1998, quoted in Jenkins, 2015a, p. 122) put it, ELT has created, propagated and maintained:

(...) the image of the native speaker as the unquestionable authority of not just language ability but also of expertise in its teaching. The native speaker status is often seen as *sine qua non*, automatically bestowing authenticity and credibility on a teacher, as an English language expert or even a teacher trainer. As an initial gate-keeping shibboleth, nativeness can assume primacy over pedagogic expertise or actual language competence in the ELT enterprise.

This is very much evident in ELT recruitment practices, which is the last discourse used to legitimise native speakerism that will be presented here.

2.2.4.3 ELT Recruitment Policies and Native Speakerism

Most of the studies discussed below refer to data from job ads gathered on-line. Indeed, the ubiquity of the Internet has influenced the way in which people obtain knowledge (Pandey, 2000) and can therefore shape how individuals understand and perceive the world around them. As Ruecker and Ives (2015) point out, on-line discourses play an important role in ELT recruitment. Hence, studies of on-line ELT job boards and advertisements can be a viable means of obtaining data on ELT hiring policies.

In the UK 72.3 per cent of employers and English teachers were found to view being a ‘native speaker’ as a very important qualification (Clark & Paran, 2007). Similar results were obtained by Mahboob, Uhrig, Newman, and Hartford (2004) who examined the attitudes 122 Intensive English Programme Administrators in the USA had towards ‘native speakers’, showing that two out of three considered it an important or somewhat important factor in the recruitment process (see 2.4.3). Braine (1999c) pointed out that in countries such as Japan or Korea being a ‘native speaker’ has become the most important ‘qualification’ and criterion for employment. This leads to a situation where the overwhelming majority (90%) of foreign English teachers in Japan employed through the Japanese Exchange and Teaching Programme (JET) are from an Inner Circle country, while exactly half were found to be from the US (Geluso, 2013). A similar ratio can be observed in some Japanese universities. Rivers (2013) describes a case of a particular English Centre in an International University in Japan where out of 63 teaching posts between 2010 and 2011, 37 were occupied by UK or US citizens, 20 more

by other Inner Circle nationals, while only 6 by Japanese and 1 by a Jamaican. This does not only show a widespread prejudice against ‘non-native speakers’, but also against ‘native speakers’ from the Outer Circle, and can be linked to the racial discourse described earlier (see 2.1.4).

Various studies show that the term ‘native speaker’ is used very frequently in ELT job ads, often in a way that excludes ‘non-native speakers’ from applying. In a recent study of job ads for Japanese universities, over two thirds were found to specify the candidate be a ‘native speaker’ (Rivers, 2016). An even higher ratio was found in the Middle East, where 88 per cent of job ads were in some way discriminatory, the main discrimination form being ‘native speaker’ status and nationality (Mahboob & Golden, 2013). Ruecker and Ives (2015) looked at the language in ELT job ads on 59 websites and confirmed what Selvi (2010) and Mahboob and Golden (2013) had found; namely, that the ‘native speaker’ requirement appeared explicitly or implicitly on the majority (81%) of the sites. Similar results were obtained by Kiczkowiak (2015), who studied ELT job ads in the EU posted on www.tefl.com, which is one of the biggest online job boards, concluding that approximately three quarters of those were for ‘native speakers’ only. Additionally, according to Ruecker and Ives (2015), in those vacancies where ‘non-native speaker’ applicants were accepted, they were required to have higher qualifications and would be scrutinised much more thoroughly than ‘native speakers’. For example, while a university degree was required in most cases, for the ‘native speaker’ applicants it could be in any field as long as it was from one of the seven inner circle countries, which suggests a profound disregard for pedagogical preparation in favour of language proficiency (Ruecker & Ives, 2015).

Nevertheless, a teacher holding a degree from a university in a non-English speaking country where English was the language of instruction would still not be accepted despite arguably being as proficient as a ‘native speaker’. This reflects what Jenkins (2007, p. 120) calls “the misguided belief” about ‘native speakers’ immediate teaching superiority over any ‘non-native speaker’. For example, the ‘native speaker’ is often used as a proficiency benchmark in job ads; thus, terms such as ‘native-like’, ‘near-native’ or ‘native level’ proficiency in the language are common place (Rivers, 2016). They indicate a profound bias that any and all ‘native speakers’ are seen as more proficient than any and all ‘non-native speakers’. Since defining ‘native speaker’ or their proficiency is problematic (see 2.1.1 and 2.1.2), using terms such as ‘native-like’ proficiency is not only imprecise and ambiguous, but also can be used to discriminate ‘non-native speakers’. However, as Paikeday (1985a) observed over three decades ago, there are no objective linguistic means of differentiating between errors made by a ‘non-native speaker’ with reference to a particular ‘native’ variety of the language, and those made by a poorly educated ‘native speaker’ of that particular variety.

Moreover, when the same level of qualification is required from ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers, there seems to be a troubling bias towards qualifications obtained in the Inner Circle. For example, Lowe (2015) looked at the type of ELT qualifications in three tertiary institutions in Japan and discovered that Inner Circle qualifications were much more highly valued than the local ones. Even the local teachers were found to have some postgraduate degree from an Inner Circle university in addition to their local degree. González and Llurda (2016), who studied Language Education Policies in Latin America, reached a similar conclusion. The need for local ‘non-native speakers’ to travel to Inner Circle countries to obtain degrees or certificates was frequently stressed by government officials, recruiters and local newspapers. This was presented as the means of increasing the level of education in English, thus putting into question the value of local teaching degrees. This frequent downplaying of local qualifications forces many ‘non-native speaker’ teachers to seek what is perceived in ELT as superior Western knowledge (Canagarajah, 2012), and thus to complete additional degrees from Inner Circle universities in order to be considered equal to ‘native speakers’. Such state of

affairs is very much a result of native speakerist ideology and cultural disbelief which place the qualifications from 'native-speaking' countries as superior to those from 'non-native-speaking' ones, creating an unequal power structure in ELT.

Hiring 'native speaker' teachers indiscriminately might also lead to a situation when only a small proportion of them will hold any teaching qualifications or have undergone relevant pedagogical training (Kirkpatrick, 2007). Many might also be hired without any experience in teaching English. For example, Rao (2010) studied 'native speaker' university teachers in China and discovered that 87 per cent of them had either very limited or no ELT experience. Ruecker and Ives (2015) analysed job ads on 59 ELT websites and found that only 14 per cent listed experience as a necessary requirement to be an EFL teacher, which suggests the schools would rather employ a 'native speaker' with no experience and a degree in a non-ELT field than an experienced, qualified and proficient 'non-native speaker'. Similar findings were obtained by Lengeling and Pablo (2012) who analysed 39 ELT recruitment documents discovering that being a 'native speaker', rather than qualifications or experience, was the most consistent requirement. Three years later, Pablo (2015) observes that in Mexico 'native speakers' are often hired and valued solely because they are 'native speakers', irrespective of their qualifications, experience and teaching abilities - or lack thereof. This can lead to "a peculiar coexistence" of poorly qualified and inexperienced 'native speakers' and highly qualified and experienced local 'non-natives' (González & Llurda, 2016).

As a result, the value of teachers' pedagogical training, experience or disciplinary knowledge is seriously undermined (Ruecker, 2011), and can have a negative influence on professionalism in ELT (Reis, 2011). Such ads do not only conflate being an expert teacher of a language with being an expert informant on that language (Henry G. Widdowson, 1994), but also limit the expert informant category to 'native speakers' only. They might also influence public opinion to the degree where neither experience nor qualifications are regarded as important when hiring teachers (N. Doan, 2014). This quote from gone2korea.com sums up the general attitude to ELT hiring described so far: "Teaching English as a second language is not rocket science! Anyone with a positive attitude, a willingness to succeed and the ability to communicate can be an excellent ESL instructor" (Ruecker & Ives, 2015, p. 12).

Unfortunately, as is the case with ideologies in general (see 2.2.1), native speakerism in recruitment practices is often rather conveniently disguised as normal, ordinary and sensible (Llurda, 2015), with the blame being often put either on the market demand for 'native speakers' (see 2.4.4), or visa restrictions. For example, certain countries (e.g., South Korea) have developed a visa system which excludes English teachers who do not come from the predominantly white Inner Circle countries, positioning 'native speakers' as better teachers, while local 'non-native speakers' as deficient and in need of 'native speaker' teaching expertise (Choi, 2016; Ruecker, 2011; Selvi, 2010). This does not only exclude all 'non-native speaker' teachers, but also those 'native speaker' teachers who were born in one of the remaining fifty-three sovereign states where English is an official language and is spoken widely, e.g., Zimbabwe (Ruecker, 2011). As a result, such policies might be considered racist since ELT job advertisements can suggest that the ideal candidate is a young, white, or Caucasian/Western-looking 'native speaker' from one of the seven Inner Circle countries (Hayes, 2013; Ruecker & Ives, 2015). For example, when the records of a recruiting agency in Hong Kong were analysed by Heron (2006, as quoted in Braine, 2010, p. 15), it turned out that 67 per cent of language schools requested applicants to be Caucasian. While Rivers (2016) did not find any overt signs of racism in the Japanese job ads he studied, 50 per cent of them did require the candidate to submit a recent photo. He concludes that bearing in mind the evidence of racism in Japanese ELT from many other studies (Kubota, 2002; Kubota & Fujimoto, 2013; Toh, 2013), asking for a photo might be a covert way to select white 'native speakers'. Braine (2004) makes a similar point and emphasises that 'non-native speaker' teachers, or non-Caucasian 'native speaker'

teachers, educated in the US when returning to their home countries (or countries of their antecedents), find it very difficult to be hired. Not for the want of pedagogical training, but solely because their looks do not fit the racialised image of a ‘native speaker’ (see 2.1.4).

In order to understand how deeply rooted racism is in ELT, it might be useful to refer to an individual account of Govardhan (2006, p.140, as quoted in Romney, 2010, p. 21), who describes his experience as follows:

When I started working in the Nigerian school system, I realized that in spite of my advanced degrees and several years of teaching experience, the state public service commission had placed me lower than native English speakers who had only bachelor’s degrees and in some cases no experience at all. For example, White Canadians with bachelor’s degrees were placed at a higher grade level than I was, although I had the highest qualifications among all of the teachers in the school. What was more disturbing was that one of my colleagues did not even possess a college degree, and yet the authorities thought that, by virtue of being a native speaker of English, this individual was qualified to teach English.

While this case might be an extreme one (though see Ali, 2009; Amin, 1997, 2004; Holliday, 2005; Kubota, 2002 for numerous other examples), it is precisely those extreme and marginal cases which can help question the perception of the normal and acceptable (Holliday, 2009). Such racial hiring policies, where marketing language is ubiquitous, place English teachers as consumers of a product (adventure in a beautiful foreign country) and allow for discrimination of individuals based on skin colour, ethnicity, age as well as mother tongue (Ruecker & Ives, 2015).

This is further exasperated by the fact that many ELT job ads emphasise potential benefits and perks, such as teaching in beautiful and exciting places, as well as misinformation, such as that English is not only easy to learn, but also to teach (Lengeling & Pablo, 2012). Toh (2013, p. 187) observes that ELT ads in Japan promote the image of a ‘native speaker’ as a white Caucasian, which is reminiscent of “a boutique or catwalk mentality”. That is, prospective teachers need to fulfil that ideal image in order to be hired. Such advertising and recruitment trivialises the professionalism of both ‘native speaker’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers reducing them to sellable consumer goods (Geluso, 2013) and leads to a situation in which teaching expertise, pedagogical training and qualifications, as well as experience are silenced and disregarded by the powerful discourses around ‘native speakers’ (Toh, 2013). Finally, what lies at the core of the problem is the relentless use of the terms ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’, a situation already criticised over three decades ago by Paikeday (1985a, p. 392), who without mincing words dubbed it “linguistic apartheid”.

So far, the discrimination of ‘non-native speakers’, as well as non-white ‘native speakers’ has been highlighted. However, it is important to emphasise that ‘native speaker’ teachers can suffer the negative effects of these recruitment and advertising policies in ELT. First, these policies can contribute to negative stereotypes about ‘native speakers’ who are seen only as providers of ‘authentic’ language (Houghton & Rivers, 2013b). For example, some students’ complaints (see 2.4.4) about a lack of teaching skills and methodological preparation of their ‘native speaker’ teachers (Barratt & Kontra, 2000; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Rao, 2010), might be explained by the fact that these teachers were hired not based on their teaching skills, but solely based on their speakerhood.

Furthermore, hiring poorly qualified and inexperienced ‘native speaker’ teachers can lead to discrimination against those ‘native speaker’ teachers who are qualified and experienced, and Japan seems to be a good case in point here. For example, Hashimoto (2013) shows that the marketing emphasis placed on being a ‘native speaker’ has resulted in ‘native speakers’ being seen as linguistic resources rather than real teachers. Geluso (2013) adds that Japanese students tend to treat ‘native speakers’ with a mixture of admiration and reverence not because of their professionalism or teaching skills, but solely based on the quality of ‘nativeness’. Moreover, while being a Caucasian ‘native speaker’ from the Inner Circle is certainly beneficial

in the recruitment process in Japan (Rivers, 2013), the positions offered to these ‘native speaker’ are often peripheral, thus further marginalising them in relation to the local teaching community (Geluso, 2013). As a result, many ‘native speakers’ in Japan face precarious employment conditions with little or no access to social benefits or pensions scheme (Hayes, 2013). The contracts are also for four years only, after which period the teacher has to leave (Rivers, 2013). This further contributes to a vision of a ‘native speaker’ as nothing more but an easy-to-replace commodity (Geluso, 2013), thus promoting the process of othering and exoticising of both ‘native speaker’ teachers, and the local community.

While the accounts referred to above and described more fully in Houghton and Rivers’ (2013b) edited volume might seem almost unbelievable, they are not by any means restricted to Japan. There seems to be evidence for similar treatment of ‘native speakers’ in Mexico, Thailand, China, Indonesia, the Middle East and Italy (Kamal, 2015; Pablo, 2015; Petrie, 2013; A. Swan, 2015). For example, a Chinese teacher points out that the main reason for hiring ‘native speakers’ is that “They like to talk!” (A. Swan, 2015, p. 71). Likewise, a participant in Pablo’s (2015, p. 113) study comments that “any *gringo* could come [to Mexico] on vacation, and get a job as a teacher here. [Some] could barely teach the language, but they looked just right for the job”. While this gives the *gringo* a clear advantage in the recruitment process, it also disadvantages this teacher in the long run, because they will be seen as an easily replaceable commodity.

It is indeed worrying that the discriminatory recruitment policies in ELT have little to do with the actual linguistic abilities of a ‘native speaker’, or a proficient user of English, let alone with pedagogical skills, but much more with inherent prejudices and ideology (Holliday, 2009). They are also undoubtedly linked to the ideologised and highly subjective discourses of who a ‘native speaker’ is (see 2.1.5). Consequently, Braine (2010) and Rivers (2016) highlight that it is high time ELT hiring policies started focusing on teachers’ professionalism rather than their mother tongue or ethnicity. This is also suggested below when qualities of effective teachers are discussed (see 2.4.5).

Furthermore, it is also worrying that recruiters based in the EU tend to ignore the fact that it is illegal to advertise for ‘native speakers’ or candidates who speak a particular mother tongue. For example, in an answer to a written parliamentary question posed by Bart Staes the European Commission (2001, p. 245) stated that “the native speaker criterion could be considered to be discriminatory” as it is not compatible with the freedom of movement principle. One year later, the European Commission’s (2002, p. 162) answer was even clearer, highlighting that “the phrase “native speaker” is not acceptable, under any circumstances, under Community law”. Despite this, and as has been pointed out earlier in this section, recruiters continue advertising for ‘native speakers’ only. While this could be due to the fact that they are not aware of these regulations, it also probably shows the extent to which native speakerism in recruitment policies is ingrained.

Indeed, one struggles to conceive of any other profession where a significant proportion of its members would still argue, in contravention of the law, that those with less relevant knowledge and skills should be employed instead of those with more relevant knowledge and skills (Kirkpatrick, 2007). In order to achieve this shift towards more equality and professionalism, Holliday (2008) suggests that on the one hand ‘non-native speakers’ need to assert their identity and abandon their feelings of inferiority (see 2.4.1), while on the other the ‘native speakers’ need to tackle their own prejudices and biases rooted in cultural disbelief. For example, Rivers (2016) recommends that ‘native speakers’ could refuse to accept job ads which are discriminatory, or question the recruiter about their policies. This is important because discrimination and ideology, be it in the form of racism or native speakerism, can only survive if it is constantly spread, supported and reinforced through discourses that make such discrimination seem natural and sensible (Ruecker, 2011).

2.2.4.4 Native Speakerism in ELT Course Books

The native speakerist discourses visible in ELT recruitment policies which position a ‘native speaker’ as the ideal language model and the ideal teacher are also visible in how English has been taught and presented to learners in course books. As Phillipson (1992, p. 178) pointed out, the assumptions which underlay early ELT profession and are still widespread now were “deeply imbued with anglocentricity”. For example, Quirk (1990) postulated that the only legitimate models of English for students to imitate should be British English or General American English, which was more recently echoed by Harmer (2007) in reference to the language model English teachers should teach. It is not surprising then that scholars have found that ELT materials are still to a large extent anglocentric and reflective of the ideology of native speakerism (see 2.2.2).

First, despite the fact that the vast majority of English users worldwide are ‘non-native speakers’, ELT course books have been found to feature predominantly ‘native speakers’ from the Inner Circle. For example, Matsuda (2002) analysed all course books used with 7th graders in Japan that had been approved by the Japanese ministry of education. She found that the overwhelming majority of non-Japanese characters in the books were from the Inner Circle. Similarly, Syrbe and Rose (2016) highlight that out of the twenty-nine interactions which were supposed to showcase real and natural English use in an ELT course book used in Germany twenty-five featured exclusively ‘native speakers’. A similar underrepresentation of ‘non-native speakers’ was also found in the Italian context (Vettorel & Lopriore, 2013).

When ‘non-native speakers’ do feature in course books, there are several problems with how they are presented. For example, according to Matsuda (2002), they contribute substantially less in dialogues and are never treated as valid models of the English language. Both Syrbe and Rose (2016) and Vettorel and Lopriore (2013) further add that ‘non-native speakers’ are frequently depicted as tourists struggling to interact in English and usually conversing with a ‘native speaker’. As a result, there seems to be a profound mismatch between who and how actually uses English in reality and what is presented to learners in course books.

In addition to a focus on ‘native speakers’, course books also tend to emphasise SE. For example, Tomlinson and Masuhara (2013), who analysed six popular and widely-used EFL course books (e.g. Outcomes, New Headway), point out that most focused not only on ‘native speaker’ English, but specifically on British English, the language taught being contemporary, middle-class standard British English. This clearly misrepresents the diversity of English language and its speakers, suggesting that idealised ‘native speaker’ Inner Circle SE is the norm (Boxer & Pickering, 1995). Even though some course books rely on corpus data to represent what is often marketed as ‘real’ and ‘authentic’ English, they still rely on ‘native speaker’ corpora (Galloway, 2018), thus ignoring the fact that the vast majority of English use takes place between ‘non-native speakers’ and promoting SE. This is true even of some of the most innovative course books on the market such as Global, which aims to present English as it is used in our globalised world. Despite these claims, the series still predominantly focuses on ‘native speaker’ norms (Galloway & Rose, 2015). Nevertheless, as Graddol (2006) observes, the idea that students should imitate SE or a particular ‘native speaker’ accent is anachronistic, because if English is used more and more widely for international communication, speakers might want to appropriate the language, to signal their nationality and identity through English via for example their L1 accent.

The almost exclusive focus on SE in EFL course books can have a profound influence on learners. For example, since teaching materials are thought to play an important role in shaping students’ beliefs about the target language (Matsuda, 2012), it is evident that presenting ‘native speakers’ as ‘custodians’ of English language norms could influence how students perceive ‘native speaker’ teachers, and explain why so many express a preference for standard ‘native

speaker' accents (see 2.3.3), and many for a 'native speaker' teacher (see 2.4.4). As a result, despite the fact that both Britain and the US are very multicultural, multi-ethnic and multilingual societies, students might have a much more homogenous view of British and US culture, traditions and speakers, largely because of the way they are presented in ESL and EFL course books (Hansen, 2004). Responding to these perceptions students have, recruiters might hire only 'native speakers' from the seven Inner Circle countries, at times even basing their recruitment on factors such as perceived ethnicity or race (see 2.2.4.3 and 2.4.3).

The rise of ELF scholarship (see 2.3) has led to calls for a more realistic representation in ELT course books of how and by whom English is now used. Matsuda (2012) argues that the choice of materials should be made taking into account the linguistic needs and goals of the learners. For example, if one is teaching business English students who often interact with Chinese businessmen in English, then the choice of materials should reflect that by exposing students to examples of China English, but also of cultural and social issues particular to China which students will have to negotiate during the business meetings. A call for a greater variety of accents in course books is also expressed by English teachers in Oman, 'native' and 'non-native' alike, who do not see SE as an appropriate model for their students (Buckingham, 2015). Failure to expose learners to the variety of English they are likely to encounter outside the class (which very often is not SE) may also compromise their ability to communicate successfully (Smith & Nelson, 2006). Some learners especially in the Outer Circle might also feel isolated or othered if an external norm from the Inner Circle is imposed on them as the correct one, pushing the local one into the margins (Canagarajah, 1999b). Nevertheless, despite the rise of ELF scholarship, Jenkins (2012), and Vettorel and Lopriore (2013) have no doubt that the prevailing focus in ELT course books is still on SE and Inner Circle norms, with only very sporadic representations of authentic ELF use.

Furthermore, how EFL materials present cultural themes relating to the English language has also been questioned. For example, EFL course books in Sweden have been criticised for having an excessive focus on British culture and ideals (Modiano, 2005). Similarly, out of the six 'global' course books Tomlinson and Masuhara (2013) analysed, two were found to focus exclusively on British culture, and two had only sporadic and superficial references to non-British cultures. The remaining two, while attempting to present a wider range of cultures, including 'non-native-speaking' ones, they did not engage learners in any deeper reflection on the topic. Very similar results were obtained by Shin, Eslami and Chen (2011), who also analysed internationally available course books. Their findings confirm that cultural norms of 'native speakers' from the Inner Circle predominate, and when and if examples of other cultures are presented, students are not encouraged to engage in reflection or communication on the topic.

In addition, apart from failing to raise awareness of other cultures, the values presented in course books might also be culturally alien. For example, the materials used in Japan in a project directed by Australian Government Agency were thought to be culturally inappropriate, trivial and biased (Widin, 2010). Likewise, Swan (2015) recounts Filipino teachers' complaints about the inadequacy of the teaching materials produced in the native-speaking West, which were insensitive to local students' religious feelings, and concerned themes such as sex which are considered taboo. Similar observations were made by Rai and Deng (2016) about the four most widely used ELT course books in China. According to Prodromou (1988), the attempts at writing global ELT materials filled with more international content have utterly failed as textbook designed for the global market have continued being anglocentric. The economic and power reasons for this seem to be clear as the situation allows the Inner Circle to exercise control over the production of ELT materials, which is a very lucrative business (Pennycook, 1994).

However, as Matsuda (2012) argues, the choice of teaching materials should be based on the local approach to learning and teaching, with which both students and teachers are familiar.

Similarly, Gray (2010) argues that it is the local teachers that are much better placed to decide on the cultural content of the course books than British ELT publishers. As a result, Turkish teachers have been found to adapt the cultural content of the British course books they are assigned to make it more suitable for their learners. Nevertheless, there are signs of change. For example, in the Italian context, some course books were found to focus on intercultural communication and feature examples of multiculturalism and multilingualism, especially as far as European countries are concerned (Vettorel & Lopriore, 2013)

Consequently, several authors have suggested that ELT course books should have a more intercultural orientation which ‘non-native speaker’ students and teachers could relate to more readily (Modiano, 2005; Rai & Deng, 2016; Syrbe & Rose, 2016). Furthermore, Swan (2015) stresses the importance of local knowledge in designing and adapting course books to the local market, ensuring that they do not promote alien values and cultural norms which might clash with the local ones. If native speakerism is to be tackled, and if ‘non-native speakers’ are to be viewed as successful communicators, rather than failed imitations of the ‘native speaker’, then a wider range of varieties of English – including ‘non-native speaker’ English – needs to be presented in ELT course books, together with examples of effective ‘non-native’ users of English.

To conclude, the discourses that buttress native speakerism in ELT are by no means limited to course books, but also imbue what is considered correct English, and who the ideal teacher is (see 2.2.4). While disrupting such powerful, widespread and deeply embedded discourses, is a formidable task, I want to suggest that a greater focus on EIL and ELF in teacher training courses and in the classroom can offer a powerful alternative to native speakerism (Kiczkowiak, 2017; Kiczkowiak, Baines, & Krummenacher, 2016) and contribute to its weakening. ELF and EIL can lead to the ‘non-native speaker’ being finally viewed as a bi- or multilingual English user who, rather than being in the minority, is in fact the majority. Consequently, in the following section ELF and EIL research will be explored to examine whether they might indeed offer an alternative to native speakerism.

2.3 English as a Lingua Franca: An Alternative to Native Speakerism

This section will explore the way in which ELF and EIL scholarships have contributed to a more heterogeneous and less anglocentric understanding of the English language and its users. It is true that World Englishes (WEs) research pioneered by B.B. Kachru (1983, 1990; B. B. Kachru, Kachru, & Nelson, 2006) is also an important paradigm, and the first to powerfully argue that the so called New Englishes from the Outer Circle were by no means fossilised interlanguages, as for example Quirk (1990) maintained, but equal in status to the Inner Circle varieties. Nevertheless, while WEs research began to focus on legitimising Outer Circle Englishes and identifying new varieties of English, it was not until Jenkins’ (2000, 2007) and Seidlhoffer’s (2001, 2004) pioneering work that the English spoken by the vast majority of people, that is those English users living in the Expanding Circle, who typically learned it as a foreign language, began to be seriously studied in its own right, rather than simply for being a failed approximation of the ‘native speaker’ model (see 2.2.3). This English use began to be referred to as ELF or EIL and has since become a vibrant and rapidly developing field of inquiry.

Consequently, while undoubtedly important, WEs research is not discussed in this thesis. It is thought that due to the EFL setting of this research (see 3.3.1), WEs scholarship is much less relevant to the participants studied (see 3.3.3), and thus to the project. Hence, the focus of this section will be on ELF and EIL scholarship, which further puts into question the discourses

legitimising native speakerism, such as those of the ‘native speaker’ fallacy (see 2.2.4.2) and SE (see 2.2.4.1). Following a presentation of ELF and EIL research, the academic criticisms of these two approaches are acknowledged and also examined critically. This is followed by an illustration of students’ and teachers’ attitudes to these new research strands. Finally, some practical implications these pluricentric approaches to English might have for ELT professionals are presented.

2.3.1 ELF Research: Questioning the Relevance of Native Speaker Norms

While both ELF and EIL are very similar in its meaning, in contrast to the individual WEs, and contrary to what some of the critics claim (Kuo, 2006; M. Swan, 2012), neither of them should be construed as an independent variety or dialect of English in their own right (Jenkins, 2012), but rather as an attempt to place all English users in an all-encompassing taxonomy (Modiano, 2009). In other words, they can be viewed as a philosophical and epistemological shift in how English is viewed and studied, which has profound implications for how it should be taught and learnt (see 2.3.4). Since both terms can be considered synonymous, and since the use of EIL in academic literature has decreased while that of ELF increased (Jenkins, 2012), this work will refer to ELF.

One of the first definitions of ELF came from Firth (1996, p. 240), who summarises it as “a ‘contact language’ between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture, and for whom English is the chosen foreign language of communication”. Jenkins (2007) expanded on this definition highlighting the fact that usually ELF is used between ‘non-native speakers’ in communicative situations where often no ‘native speaker’ is present. Consequently, ELF speakers have little reason to adapt their speech to ‘native speaker’ norms, and the primary concern is intelligibility (Seidlhofer, 2001). This further challenges the view that learners and teachers of English should aspire to imitate Inner Circle norms, which has helped maintain the ‘native speaker’ fallacy and the dominance of SE (see 2.2.4.1). Instead, the goal for the learners is to acquire and for the teachers to promote the ability to be intelligible in intercultural and international communicative settings (see 2.3.4).

Nevertheless, ‘native speakers’ are not excluded from ELF use or research, even though they will most often constitute a minority in ELF interactions (Seidlhofer, 2011). Crucially, VOICE (Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English), which is not only the first, but also the largest ELF corpus, adds that ELF is “additionally acquired”, both by English L2 and L1 speakers (Jenkins, 2012). This means that ‘native speakers’ are not in a position to prescribe or determine international norms of English use, since they are but a small minority of ELF users. Hence, while many ‘non-native speaker’ students and teachers still express the longing after the elusive goal of being admitted to the exclusive ‘native speaker’ club on the virtue of their ‘native-like’ proficiency (see 2.3.3), Jenkins (2012) argues that the ‘non-native speaker’ majority of ELF users does not need to defer to ‘native speakers’ for norms or models of language use. Since English is an international language, it does not belong to the British or the Americans any more than it does to the Polish or the Japanese. As an international language, English cannot have any ‘native speakers’ (Henry G. Widdowson, 1994). And even though ‘native speakers’ might indeed feel that English belongs to them, its future will be determined by those who speak it as a second or foreign language (Graddol, 1997).

Consequently, it has become more and more questionable why the norms and standards taught in class should come exclusively from ‘native speakers’ (see 2.2.4.2), or why students should aspire to master ‘native speaker’ standards since the majority of communication in English occurs in ELF contexts where no or very few ‘native speakers’ are present (Seidlhofer, 1999, 2011). Firth (2009) points out that successful ELF communication does not entail a

mastery of SE or any other standardised and fixed set of language norms, but rather a mastery of communicative strategies such as accommodation. In fact, stubbornly clinging to ‘native speaker’ norms at the expense of exposing students to a variety of ELF and WEs users can be counterproductive to international communication (Baumgardner, 2006; Matsuda, 2002).

For example, it has been shown that certain English sounds, such as the interdental fricative <th>, or features of ‘native speaker’ pronunciation, such as stress-timing, are not only unnecessary, but can in fact hinder intelligibility in ELF settings (Jenkins, 2000; Zoghbor, 2011b). This means that rather than spending classroom time and efforts on attempts to imitate SE or a particular ‘native speaker’ accent, it might be much more productive and valuable to focus on pronunciation features which have been found to be crucial for comprehension in ELF, such as long and short vowels, which are now known as the Lingua Franca Core, or LFC (Jenkins, 2000, 2002). Berns (2006) further notes that the model to be taught in class should be chosen based on students’ needs, rather than imposed from the Anglo-American centre, a priori assuming they will use English to communicate with Inner Circle ‘native speakers’, which was dubbed the interlocutor myth (see 2.2.4.2).

As a result, ELF scholarship offers an important opportunity to question the fundamentally native speakerist concepts of fossilisation and interlanguage, as well as the false black and white dichotomies of ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ (see 2.1.5). Furthermore, since proficiency in ELF is not L1-bound, as is proficiency in the traditional EFL/ESL model, the notion of superiority of one group over the other based on speakerhood, so intrinsic to native speakerism, is further undermined. This radical departure from traditional SLA and ELT models, with SE and ‘native speaker’ proficiency at their core (see 2.2.3 and 2.2.4.1), has some far-reaching implications for numerous aspects of the day-to-day teaching practice of ELT professionals. However, before these implications are discussed (see 2.3.4), the academic criticisms directed at ELF research will first need to be acknowledged and looked at critically, followed by students’ and teachers’ perceptions of these two new research strands (see 2.3.3).

2.3.2 Resistance and Uncertainty: Academic Criticism of ELF Research

As with any relatively new strand of research which threatens to disrupt the status quo and the power structure promoted by the dominant ideology (see 2.2.2), ELF research is not without its critics among linguists and SLA scholars. For example, Trudgill (2002, p. 151), despite acknowledging the fact that English is now a global language, maintains that only the ‘native speakers’ should be viewed as its “true repository”. It is not clear, however, who these ‘native speakers’ are, nor which English they speak. Neither is it clear why their English should be viewed as the only international standard. Other researchers are clearer on this arguing that Outer Circle Englishes are examples of interlanguage, or fossilised language (Quirk, 1990; Selinker, 1992). Consequently, if this view is adopted, similarly to the ancient Greeks, any language that does not meet Inner Circle ‘native speaker’ standards might be thought of as a barbarism, an incomprehensible babble which offends ‘native speaker’ sense of language purity and correctness (Seidlhofer, 2011).

Perhaps because of these lingering attitudes, ELF is to a large extent ignored as far as ELT course books (Vettorel & Lopriore, 2013) or teacher training programmes (Kiczkowiak et al., 2016) are concerned (see 2.2.4.4 for a discussion of native speakerism in ELT course books). The dominant ELT methodologies still maintain that teachers should focus only on SE. For example, while in the latest edition of his book on teaching English Harmer (2007) does acknowledge and briefly discuss the recent scholarship in WEs and ELF, he still concludes that the only choices of language models for an English teacher are that of either American or British English.

Moreover, Seidlhofer (2011) points out that most grammar books, dictionaries and corpora of English conveniently leave not only ELF, but also WEs out of the equation, promoting the view that the only correct English belongs to ‘native speakers’ in the Inner Circle (see 2.2.4.1). This attitude of downplaying and ignoring the global status of English and promoting it as the exclusive property, as it were, of ‘native speakers’ is also deeply ingrained in international language teaching corporations such as the BC, which in their Annual Report 2008/9 argue that “UK’s greatest strengths is its status as the original home of the English language” (2008/9, p.5, as quoted in Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 29). It seems then that although the ELT profession is prepared to perhaps reluctantly acknowledge that English has spread around the globe, the ownership of the language must remain with the ‘native speakers’ in the Inner Circle.

While one reason for neglecting ELF in ELT course books, teacher education and teaching methodology could be the belief that SE should remain the only target of teaching and learning, or the resistance from the establishment, it is also true that until very recently few practical suggestions have been made by ELF scholars as to how their findings could be applied in practice. For example, Jenkins (2009, p. 202) highlights that ELF researchers “do not believe either that pedagogic decisions about language teaching should follow on automatically from language descriptions or that the linguists compiling the corpora should make those decisions”. As a result, it is not surprising that many ELT practitioners might still be uncertain how to incorporate ELF findings into their day-to-day practice. Nevertheless, more recently practical suggestions have been put forward showing how pronunciation for ELF use could be taught (Walker, 2010), how to incorporate ELF research findings into teacher education (Bayyurt & Sifakis, 2015b) and initial teacher training programs such as CELTA (Dewey & Patsko, 2018), what a pedagogy of ELF might entail (Bayyurt & Akcan, 2015; Dewey, 2012) and how ELF could be incorporated into ELT course books (Galloway, 2018).

Another common criticism of ELF is that it risks being patronising to the learners by telling them that their English is sufficient and that they do not need to aim for a ‘native speaker’ target, when in fact they might view SE as their learning goal (Pennycook, 2012). According to O’Regan (2014, p. 540),

there is a profound disconnect between the desire to identify and promote ‘ELF’ features and functions and the practical necessity of dealing with the structural iniquities of a global capitalism which will by default always distribute economic and linguistic resources in a way which benefits the few over the many and which confers especial prestige upon selective language forms.

In other words, it might seem as if Inner Circle academics are once again telling the rest of the English-speaking world which English they must speak and how they should use it, only that this time it is no longer SE. This might further disadvantage and disenfranchise the individuals whose English is already viewed as inferior. Nevertheless, as Widdowson (2015) suggests, the answer to the linguistic inequality lies in more, not less, education about the power, privilege and prejudice inherent in how language is used.

In addition, as Pennycook (2008) observes it is necessary to attempt to come to terms with an understanding of English that is non-centrist, dependent neither on standardised varieties of English, nor on the hegemony of SE (see 2.2.4.1), which is a further challenge that ELF research faces. First, important work has taken, and continues to take, place in terms of identifying the typical pronunciation features necessary for intelligibility in ELF interactions, which has been gathered into the LFC (Deterding, 2013; Deterding & Mohamad, 2016; Jenkins, 2000, 2002). Furthermore, corpus data on ELF is being gathered in different settings and by different researchers, most notably VOICE (Seidlhofer, 2011), English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings (ELFA) (Mauranen, 2012) and Asian Corpus of English (ACE) (Deterding & Kirkpatrick, 2006). Consequently, ELF research might have given the impression that it intends to codify ELF into a language variety similar to Indian, British or Australian English.

However, it must be pointed out here that contrary to what some critics of ELF think (Kuo, 2006; O'Regan, 2014; M. Swan, 2012), ELF scholars do not view it as a variety of English, but rather as “a variable way of using it” (Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 77). In other words, ELF can be thought of as a context in which the language is used, or a third paradigm distinct from EFL or ESL. In addition, ELF scholars very early on acknowledged that it would not be possible to view ELF as a variety of English, and the focus of ELF research has since shifted to areas such as describing the pragmatics of ELF interactions (Jenkins, Cogo, & Dewey, 2011).

Nevertheless, it would seem then that ELF research has been based on two contradictory premises: on the one hand attempting to describe it as a variety, and on the other acknowledging that it is too diverse to be a variety. This contradiction led some, most notably O'Regan (2014), to criticise ELF for having weak philosophical foundations and of being riddled with methodological inconsistencies. He highlights that ELF scholars are guilty of hypostatization when they employ phrases such as ELF context, ELF users or ELF interaction. In other words, according to O'Regan (2014) although ELF researchers acknowledge that ELF is not a defined entity or language variety, they sometimes utilise the term as if it were. However, as Widdowson (2015) rightly notes, English users would be guilty of hypostatization any time they employ terms such as English users or the English language for no language or language variety can be said to exist as a defined entity, despite some linguists' efforts to codify language and prescribe fixed rules. Likewise, ELF does not exist out there as a system, a thing or a codified language form (Firth, 2009). Instead, ELF emerges out of interaction and, as such, it is varied, fluid and changeable.

Hence, in order to understand and describe ELF, the anachronistic view of language varieties as distinct entities clearly demarcated by geography, class or education might need to be rethought. First, Pennycook (2007) argues that language cannot be viewed as separate or autonomous of contexts, users and histories. In fact, according to him, language in isolation cannot possibly exist. Hence, if the diversity of ELF users is to be taken into account, what is needed is an alternative description:

[o]f the manifold ways in which ELF users skilfully negotiate and co-construct English for their own purposes, treating the language as a shared communicative resource within which they innovate, accommodate and code-switch, all the while enjoying the freedom to produce forms that [‘native speakers’] do not necessarily use (Jenkins et al., 2011, p. 295).

One such description can be borrowed from Pennycook's (2007) discussion of what he refers to as transgressive theories and transidiomatic practices. For the purposes of this discussion it suffices to say that what is meant by these practices is a kind of “borrowing, blending and bending” of a language, whereby its users “select, appropriate and return” new linguistic forms (Pennycook, 2007, p. 47). And these new forms, whether created by ‘native’ or ‘non-native speakers’, are not seen as errors, but as examples of creative language use. Likewise, Firth (2009) suggests that variability dependent on the interlocutors and the context is at the core of ELF. In other words, ELF focuses on the kinds of English that are flexible, fluid and that go beyond geographical and national borders (Jenkins, 2015a). This means that both ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’, whether from Inner, Outer or Expanding Circle, need to adjust and accommodate their language in order to successfully interact in ELF settings. Finally, the most recent attempt to reconceptualise ELF takes into account its multilingual character, whereby speakers often resort to code-switching and borrowings from other languages; and thus ELF becomes English as a Multilingua Franca (EMF), or a tool for multilingual communication where English is frequently, but necessarily chosen as the contact language in (Jenkins, 2015b).

It is inevitable that a paradigm shift, and ELF research represents such a shift, will draw some criticisms. First, because it is at the cutting edge, and thus not yet fully and robustly described. Second, because it might challenge the existing status quo. This section has acknowledged some of the most prominent criticisms of ELF, showing, however, that not all

of them are valid. In the next section, I turn to students and teachers and illustrate their attitudes to and beliefs about SE and ELF. It will be shown that while from an academic standpoint, ELF does offer a possibility to move away from the native speakerist ideology imbuing ELT, students and teachers are much less favourable of it, and many still regard SE and the ‘native speaker’ as the golden standard of correctness (see 2.2.4.1), and thus as the ideal teacher (see 2.2.4.3). This resistance will have some important implications for ELT practice and how ELF should be implemented in materials, methodology and the classroom (see 2.3.4).

2.3.3 Resistance and Uncertainty: Students’ and Teachers’ Attitudes to ELF

Numerous studies show that some learners display a clear prejudice against ‘non-native speaker’ accents and pronunciation. Research conducted over the years in Denmark, Austria, Hong Kong and Italy (Jarvella, Bang, Jakobsen, & Mees, 2001; Ladegaard & Sachdev, 2006; Luk, 2009; Pulcini, 1997), shows that EFL and ESL students have a preference for the RP accent of British English or the General American accent, both of which are associated with SE (see 2.2.4.1), over Englishes tinted with the students’ local accent. Likewise, Timmis (2002) observed that learners showed a strong preference for the ‘native speaker’ norm in general, despite the fact that many EFL teachers and scholars (Canagarajah, 2006; Graddol, 2006; Jenkins, 2000) have criticised the adequacy of insisting on ‘native speaker’ norms in class (see 2.3.2). Timmis’ results were confirmed in a study of almost 1300 English learners in Chinese universities conducted by Hu (2004), in which 100 per cent of the participants regarded British and American English as the only examples of SE.

According to the ideology of native speakerism (see 2.2.2), ‘native speakers’ are not only seen as better models of the language, but also as embodiments of superior Western style of teaching and learning. And this is precisely what some researchers have found when studying students’ attitudes to ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ language models. In an ESL context in the US, Mahboob (2004) observed that students consider ‘native speaker’ teachers in general not only to be better pronunciation models, but also better teachers. Similar results were obtained by numerous other scholars who investigated students’ attitudes towards and ratings of differently accented guises (He & Miller, 2011; McKenzie, 2008; Scales, Wennerstrom, Richard, & Wu, 2006; Scheuer, 2008). With one exception (El-Dash & Busnardo, 2001), where the split was fifty fifty, all other scholars report that students viewed ‘native speaker’ guises more favourably and linked the ‘native speaker’ norm to better teaching skills, higher social status, higher qualifications, intelligence and grammatical correctness. In the words of one of Lasagabaster and Sierra’s (2005, p. 232, emphasis mine) respondents, ‘non-native speakers’ of English don’t have “the *original* English accent”. However, according to Braine (1999b), this discrimination is not exclusive to ‘non-native speakers’, but is also starting to affect ‘native speakers’ with non-standard accents, as well as English users from the Outer Circle.

This might indicate that some students think English is a very homogenous language, perhaps due to an unawareness of ELF (see 2.3.1), and to the dominance of the discourses supporting native speakerism (see 2.2.4). Consequently, learners have been found to idealise ‘native speaker’ speech and language, viewing it as perfect and unaccented (Reis, 2011; Timmis, 2002). For example, Sung (2013) shows that while the undergraduate students in Hong Kong he studied mostly viewed ‘native-like’ pronunciation as the ideal they would like to aspire to, they acknowledged that certain ‘native speaker’ accents were not in their opinion desirable. Hence, there seems to be a mismatch between an idealised ‘native speaker’ accent, which the participants almost always prefer, and the real ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ accents.

This discrepancy could be attributed to a lack of exposure to ELF, which in turn could be remedied by a greater focus on educating learners in a wider range of ‘native’ and ‘non-native’ varieties (Jin, 2005). For example, Jenkins (2009) observes that the positive attitude to ELF of her Erasmus student participants was correlated with the amount of time spent interacting in ELF settings; that is, the more exposure to ELF they had had, the more aware they were of its effectiveness as a means of communication. Similarly, those people who have lived or worked, or currently do so, in an ethnically diverse environment where numerous different languages and accents can be heard, are much more tolerant of foreign accents (Dewaele & McCloskey, 2015).

There are some findings, however, which shed doubt on the seemingly overwhelming preference among students for ‘native speaker’ accents. One notable exception here is He and Zhang’s (2010) study conducted in China on a group of 700 learners. They found that only 41.6 per cent of respondents preferred the ‘native speaker’ norm. Likewise, when Tokumoto and Shibata (2011) analysed preferences of Malaysian students, they found that the majority opted for the local English norm, with only 16 per cent of support for the ‘native speaker’ model. Even fewer students in Thailand (10%) expressed a direct preference for standard ‘native speaker’ models (Mullock, 2010). In China, Chun (2014) found that just over a fifth (22.4%) of respondents thought that only ‘native speaker’ teachers can teach them real or SE, and while the majority preferred ‘native speaker’ teachers for teaching pronunciation, only 21.6 per cent had negative views of the pronunciation of ‘non-native speaker’ teachers. Furthermore, Üstünlüoğlu (2007) discovered that Turkish students praised ‘non-native speaker’ teachers for using clear and intelligible pronunciation, which echoes Kelch and Santana-Williamson’s (2002) and Rao’s (2010) findings, which indicate students place a lot of emphasis on intelligible pronunciation. It is noteworthy, however, that He and Zhang (2010, p. 783) interpreted their results negatively stating that “increasingly, Chinese students (...) no longer set themselves a target as high as Standard Englishes for their pronunciation”, thus themselves falling victims of the still deeply rooted ideology of native speakerism (see 2.2.2).

It is also important to note that studies by Pacek (2005), Inbar-Lourie (2005) and Liu (1999) indicate that EFL students did not always recognise whether their teacher was a ‘native’ or a ‘non-native speaker’, which casts some doubt on their bias towards the ‘native speaker’ norm. For example, Pacek (2005) noted that only 53 per cent of his respondents correctly identified their teacher as a ‘non-native speaker’ by the end of the course. Similar observations were also made by Scales et al. (2006) and McKenzie (2008). The latter highlights that only ‘native speakers’ identified as such were rated highly by the respondents. This puts into question the previously mentioned findings which indicated a clear preference among learners for a ‘native speaker’ pronunciation model, suggesting that perhaps there is a mismatch between the expected or idealised ‘native speaker’ accent, and the real one. As some scholars observe, learners tend to idealise ‘native speaker’ speech, which as a result can lead to skewed findings (G. Hu & Lindemann, 2009; Scales et al., 2006; Timmis, 2002). Indeed, Kramadibrata (2016), who studied how Indonesian students rated the pronunciation of ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’, argues that there is a discrepancy between implicit and explicit attitudes of students to the two groups, which was also noted by Watson-Todd and Pojanapunya (2009), and which might be conditioned by the influence of native speakerism on ELT (see 2.2.4) and SLA (see 2.2.3).

This idealisation can also be linked to who students think a ‘native speaker’ is and how they look. As emphasised previously (see 2.1.4), being a ‘native speaker’ is frequently associated with being white and Western-looking. Consequently, it is not particularly surprising that some EFL learners may judge a teacher based on their skin colour and other racial features (Rubin, 1992). Indeed, both Watson-Todd and Pojanapunya (2009), and Kramadibrata (2016) conclude that perceived race can not only affect students’ judgments of teacher’s pronunciation, but also

of their teaching ability. Hence, white Caucasian teachers will be rated more positively than their non-white counterparts. This may result in a situation where non-Caucasian teachers, 'native' and 'non-native' alike, who do not speak SE (see 2.2.4.1) might face prejudice from students (see 2.4.4) and from employers (see 2.2.4.3 and 2.4.3), some of whom implicitly view whiteness as a desirable trait in a prospective teacher (Ruecker & Ives, 2015). This indicates that future studies on students' preferences of 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers should take into account the implicit prejudice that some learners have towards non-white teachers.

Another objection to the results indicating a strong preference among learners for the 'native speaker' norm is that the studies described in this section assume that findings from a laboratory setting are reflective of attitudes in a real classroom context. Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2009) question this by pointing out that findings derived from learners rating audio recordings do not necessarily have to translate to a clear preference for 'native speaker' norms in a real-life situation. It is also important to note that having a 'native' or a 'non-native speaker' teacher does not seem to affect how much students' pronunciation improves (Levis, Sonsaat, Link, & Barriuso, 2016). Consequently, even if students did insist on having a 'native speaker' teacher, the school director should inform them that this is unlikely to have any positive effect on their pronunciation.

Finally, there is a marked difference between students' preferences and the perceived expectations of their peers, family and colleagues. Namely, according to Subtirelu (2013) while students preference for 'native speaker' norm decreased over time spent in the US, the expectations of those around them remained set on the 'native speaker' norm. This can undoubtedly lead to pressure being put on the learners and their consequent choice of teacher or school. Indeed, Subtirelu (2013) notes that students attitudes to 'native' and 'non-native speakers' might sometimes not be their own, but those of their relatives, peers or colleagues. He also observed that EFL students viewed the 'native speaker' model as the ideal of language use and learning despite acknowledging that it might be impossible for them to achieve it, thus themselves falling victims of the impostor syndrome, which many 'non-native speaker' teachers have been found to suffer from (see 2.4.1).

As far as teachers' perceptions of pronunciation models to be used in class are concerned, there is evidence that while they are slightly more acceptant of non-standard pronunciation, they still overwhelmingly see SE as the only teaching and learning model (Bozzo, 2015; Timmis, 2002). Moreover, 'non-native speaker' teachers have been reported to express a strong desire to acquire a standard Inner Circle 'native speaker' accent, or SE (Jenkins, 2007). It is not surprising then that some 'non-native speaker' teachers might regard 'native speakers' as "the rightful owners of English" (Sifakis & Sougari, 2005, p. 481), who speak better or more correct English (N. B. Doan, 2016). This idealisation of 'native speakers' can be so deeply ingrained that some 'non-native speaker' teachers would still like to be able to imitate the 'native' model as closely as possible, despite the fact that at the same time they reject the notion that 'native speakers' are *a priori* better teachers (Corcoran, 2011). The desire to acquire SE might be due to the fact that teachers are not aware of ELF scholarship (see 2.3.1), nor of its implications for teaching (see 2.3.4). For example, local Greek English teachers have been found to have little awareness of what ELF is (Sifakis & Sougari, 2005). Nevertheless, those teachers who are aware of ELF might still feel torn between the growing understanding that English is now used internationally as a lingua franca (see 2.3.1), and what they perceive to be their job - that is, correcting learners' mistakes and providing them with a SE model (Bozzo, 2015).

What these teachers fail to notice, though, is that 'native speakers' do not really speak standard or 'unaccented' English, and that their speech, exactly like the speech of a 'non-native speaker', is affected by factors such as geography, age, occupation or education (Braine, 1999a). As Jenkins (2007) observes, this idealisation of 'native speaker' English on the part of 'non-native speakers' is clearly reflective of SE discourse (see 2.2.4.1), which buttresses native

speakerism by dismissing ‘non-native speaker’ use of English as erroneous and fossilised. Hence, Corcoran (2011) and Kiczkowiak et al. (2016) suggests teacher educators bring the issues of ELF and native speakerism up for critical discussion during teacher training programmes. This could help raise awareness of the plurality of English, as well as help ‘non-native speakers’ see themselves as valid and independent users of the language.

This is also important because, according to Holliday (2005), native speakerism is so deeply embedded in the fabric and discourse of ELT (see 2.2.4) that it has become invisible and widely accepted as normal. Consequently, many ‘non-native speakers’ have been quite literally brainwashed into thinking that their only goal should be to acquire ‘native-like’ proficiency and thus achieve the greatest, yet a rather impossible ideal: “be welcomed into the community of native speakers as ‘regular’ members” (Rajagopalan, 2005, p. 286). For example, despite their awareness of ELF, the majority of the pre-service teachers studied by Kaur and Raman (2014), still rated Inner Circle ‘native speaker’ models of pronunciation as more pleasant, acceptable, intelligible and correct. In the Swiss context, local teachers, while conceptually supportive of ELF, did not feel it would be an appropriate classroom model (Murray, 2003). This was also true in Young and Walsh’s (2010) research, which drew 26 participants from Asia, Europe and Africa at the time studying in the UK, but all being English teachers back home. These teachers, while interested in ELF conceptually, all reported they would rather teach SE.

However, it must also be noted that being unwilling to implement ELF into teaching is not only due to a possible influence of SE discourse (see 2.2.4.1), but also to a lack of ELF pedagogy and materials. As a result, some teachers are uneasy about the repercussions of dropping SE as the teaching model for assessment or syllabus design (Murray, 2003). This could no doubt be remedied by a change in EFL materials and teacher training, orienting them more towards ELF (Bayyurt & Sifakis, 2015a; Dewey, 2012; C. J. Hall, Wicaksono, Liu, Qian, & Xiaoqing, 2013). For example, Turkish primary school teachers of English studied by Bayyurt and Sifakis (2015a) report that after the teacher development course focused on ELF, contrary to what they thought before the start of the course, they no longer feel SE is the only adequate model. Furthermore, the training also allowed them to finally see themselves as competent users of English, rather than failed imitations of ‘native speakers’. This is an important outcome bearing in mind the fact that ‘non-native speaker’ teachers might suffer from lower self-esteem (see 2.4.1).

Apart from teacher training, the dependence on ‘native speaker’ models may also vary depending on several other factors. First, it diminishes with time ‘non-native speaker’ teachers spend abroad and in English-speaking countries (Cook, 2005; Llorca, 2015). For example, the ‘non-native’ participants in Choi’s (2016) study, who were at the time living and teaching in the US, rejected the idea that speaking English like an American ‘native speaker’ was the most appropriate goal for them or their students. Similar findings were obtained by Llorca and Huguet (2003), who concluded that the teachers who had had the least exposure to English abroad were the most likely to aspire to SE. Time spend abroad interacting in English both with ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’ can lead to a more critical view of the supremacy of the ‘native speaker’ language and instruction norms, and an increased appreciation of ‘non-native speaker’ varieties (Llorca, 2009a). Nevertheless, this can lead to an interesting phenomenon in schools where no or few ‘native speakers’ teach. In the Brazilian context, Corcoran (2011) found that a hierarchy of ‘non-native speakers’ started to develop, with those who have spent more time in an English-speaking country being seen as superior by students, recruiters and colleagues alike.

Returning to the issue of how and why the idealisation of ‘native speakers’ might vary, according to Llorca and Huguet (2003), admiration and preference for SE diminishes with teachers’ level, with primary school teachers being the most keen to accept ‘native speaker’ authority. This is questioned, however, by the results of Bayyurt and Sifakis’ (2015a) study,

which indicate that the primary teacher participants thought intelligibility, rather than sounding ‘native-like’ is more important. Finally, Butler’s (2004) results suggest that the lower the proficiency of a ‘non-native speaker’ teacher, the more likely they are to assert that English is best taught by a ‘native speaker’.

While attitudes of ‘native speaker’ teachers towards SE and ELF have not been studied extensively, there are some indications that they might view L1-accented speech negatively and criticise ‘non-native speaker’ teachers for it (Aboshisha, 2008, as cited in Holliday, 2013, p. 18). However, similarly to students and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers, this is likely to depend on the teacher’s previous experience and contact with L1 accents and their personality. For example, according to Dewaele and McCloskey (2015), who studied attitudes of multilinguals to foreign accents, extrovert individuals who are tolerant of ambiguity, and who have a history of living and working in ethnically and accent diverse settings, will be much more tolerant of foreign accents. In an ELT setting, this is confirmed by Buckingham (2015), who investigated English teachers’ attitudes to pronunciation teaching in Oman, where English is primarily used as a lingua franca for communication between its residents, who are very ethnically diverse. Her results indicate that this cosmopolitan setting makes teachers favour much more diverse models of pronunciation and place greater emphasis on intelligibility and ELF than on any particular Inner Circle accent or SE. It is also noteworthy that ‘native speaker’ teachers in this study were more acceptant of non-standard accents than the ‘non-native’ ones, which confirms the findings discussed above, which indicated ‘non-native speaker’ teachers are still very much reliant on SE. Similar results were obtained by Timmis (2002), who surveyed almost 200 teachers. He found that ‘native speakers’ tended on average to be more willing to accept non-standard English, not only in terms of pronunciation, but also grammar.

All in all, it seems that on average both teachers and students seem to view SE as a more appropriate norm than ELF. While the former are certainly much more willing to adapt a more ELF-based approach, they are often at a loss how to do this, most likely due to the fact that ELF research (see 2.3.1) has not yet entered mainstream ELT methodology or teacher training programmes. Hence, as Dewey (2012) suggests, there might be a need for a shift towards a post-normative, or post-SE pedagogy and teacher training, which will give teachers the possibility to present language models that are locally appropriate. This could offer a much needed respite from the native speakerist ideology, which for so long has imbued SLA research (see 2.2.3) and the ELT profession (see 2.2.4). ELF paradigm offers ELT practitioners an opportunity to look afresh at the subject they teach, which so far has been dominated by SE (see 2.2.4.1). It offers possibilities to undermine the ‘native speaker’ fallacy (see 2.2.4.2) and provide ‘non-native speakers’ with an opportunity to regain their rightful position in ELT as professionals who are equal to ‘native speakers’, and thus to fight for their employment rights (see 2.2.4.3).

But how does a teacher bring the ELF perspective into the classroom? How does one teach ELF? Is it even possible? What happens to the standards and learning objectives if SE is rejected? These are some of the immediate doubts teacher participants in Murray’s (2003) study had. They would very likely be shared by many other ELT practitioners. As a result, the practical implications of ELF for ELT are discussed in the next section.

2.3.4 Practical Implications of ELF for ELT

One of the first implications of ELF research for ELT is that a profound reevaluation of what is meant by language proficiency, correctness, error, language ownership, appropriateness or communicative competence is required. Traditionally, all of these concepts have been pegged to the idealised ‘native speaker’ competence and to SE, which the ‘native speaker’ was said to

know in its entirety (see 2.2.4.1 and 2.2.4.2). Learners' language was seen in terms of errors as a fossilised and deficient version of 'native speaker' proficiency, which interestingly SLA researchers would claim is not achievable for a 'non-native speaker' (see 2.2.3). Consequently, the aim of various teaching methods, from structural, through communicative, to task-based, and lexical, proposed over the years has always been the same; namely, teach learners to conform with 'native speaker' norms, which inevitably leads to a promotion of pedagogy of failure whereby the vast majority of students fail to reach the 'native speaker' standard (see 2.3.3).

However, ELF proposes that competency should instead be measured in view of what learners do with the language (Seidlhofer, 2011). This means that teachers need to focus on developing the communicative capability of learners, which is not understood in terms of their (non-)conformity with 'native speaker' norms, but rather in terms of realising the linguistic potential inherent in the language (Henry G. Widdowson, 2003). In other words, what matters is not how similar the language of 'non-native speakers' is in comparison to SE, but whether they have succeeded in gaining the ability to effectively use the language they have learnt for communicative purposes (Seidlhofer, 2011). Consequently, if the view that English is now used primarily as a lingua franca to communicate in international settings where often 'native speakers' are a minority, rather than to communicate with 'native speakers' in the Inner Circle as traditionally implied by ELT pedagogy, is accepted; then the traditional hierarchy of Englishes with SE at the pinnacle needs to be reconceptualised (see Figure 1).

As can be seen in Figure 2 below, an alternative hierarchy which prioritises English for international use, whether used by 'native speakers' or 'non-native speakers' is proposed:

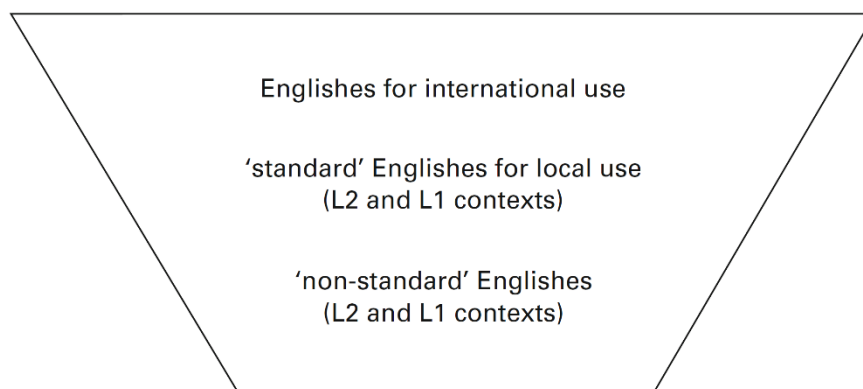


Figure 2. Reconceptualised hierarchy of Englishes prioritising international use (Jenkins, 2015a, p. 178)

As a result, SE is no longer at the top since there can be no golden standard appropriate for all the diverse, international and intercultural ways in which ELF is utilised (Jenkins, 2015a). The reconceptualised hierarchy of Englishes also abandons the traditional notions of ENL (English as a Native Language), ESL and EFL, since these labels and boundaries between them are unclear and fuzzy, and since classifying English speakers as belonging only to one but not the other has become increasingly problematic (Jenkins, 2015a). Instead, the emphasis is on ELF, which does not have 'native speakers' nor a particular standard all speakers must adhere to, and as a result can be thought of as a more just and less contentious paradigm.

More recently, Jenkins (2015b), having reconceptualised ELF to EMF, argues that we can now talk of monolingual or bi/multilingual ELF users, rather than 'native' and 'non-native' ELF users. This is an attempt at marrying EMF with her previous suggestion of referring to mono-, bi- and multilingual English users (Jenkins, 2007). This has the advantage of abandoning the inadequate and divisive 'native' and 'non-native' labels (see 2.1.3), as well as equally problematic L1 and L2 terms. The emphasis shifts to the ability to use ELF, or EMF if Jenkins' (2015b) recent reconceptualisation is accepted, and to being mono- or multilingual,

the former considered disadvantageous in ELF/EMF communication. Furthermore, ELF asks to review the traditional notion of language as a closed and relatively stable system, and to start looking at it as a social activity, a possible outcome of which is communication. In other words, English can be thought of not as “a product, but a social process that is constantly being remade” (Pennycook, 2010, p. 246). This reflects Piller’s (2002) position on what it means to be a ‘native speaker’ (see 2.1.5). He argues that being a ‘native speaker’ is not a permanent and rigid state, but a flexible and changeable one; namely, it is something one does, a performative act of sorts, and by no means a fixed condition bestowed on a person at birth.

Hence, the traditional insistence on conformity with SE (see 2.3.4) as the measure of learners’ success is not only irrelevant considering how most students will use English in the future, but also hinders the development of the communicative capability and ensures that English remains forever foreign to the learner. However, Widdowson (1994) points out that proficiency is tantamount to assuming ownership of the language, thus shaping and using it to reflect the needs of an individual. Consequently, if the aim of English teachers is to help learners achieve proficiency, the students need to be allowed to shape the language to their own communicative ends, and that includes deviating from ‘native speaker’ norms. On the other hand, if ‘non-native speaker’ language innovations remain seen as errors, no ‘non-native speaker’ will ever be considered as proficient as a ‘native speaker’ (Bamgbose, 1998).

In addition, the fact that a language item is different from the Inner Circle standard, should not automatically mean that such an item is incorrect. Consequently, Outer and Expanding Circle Englishes must be studied for what they represent, rather than as deviations of the Inner Circle standard (B. B. Kachru, 1992b). This is due to the fact that nativisation of any language, English included, is a natural and inevitable process. The process is also endonormative, that is, happening from within rather than being imposed from the outside, and as a result there is no logical reason why the Inner Circle ‘native speaker’ should remain the global standard (Henry G. Widdowson, 1994). The same endonormativity seems to hold for ELF too, since linguistic innovation and creativity seen in ELF interactions is not a case of anything goes, but rather is a systematic process that makes use of existing phonological, morphological and syntactic rules of English to create new language forms (Seidlhofer, 2011). Hence, there does not seem to exist any valid reason to deem ELF innovations errors, if non-conformity with SE of many ‘native speakers’, which is very well-attested in corpora, or coinage of new vocabulary is accepted as dialect or example of linguistic creativity, respectively. Finally, as far as ELF is concerned, nativisation can be viewed “as the appropriation of the language by individual speakers, who make it their own for particular purposes and conditions of use so that they are ‘at home’ in it [and can] accommodate to their interlocutors” (Seidlhofer, 2011, p. 96). This is precisely Cook’s (1999, 2001a) position; namely, that L2 English users should be studied and appreciated for what they really are: bi- or multilingual English speakers, and not failed imitations of a monolingual ‘native speaker’ (see 2.1.3).

Another reason against maintaining the ‘native speaker’ norms as the only acceptable standards is that many of them do not reflect those of English speakers in the Outer Circle. As with accent intelligibility, ‘native speaker’ strategies and norms of phatic communication might not necessarily be more effective than the ones developed locally in the Outer or Expanding Circles (B. B. Kachru, 1991). For example, Hu (2004) sees China English as a more appropriate and useful communication norm for Asian ‘non-native speakers’ than British or American English. Similar views were also expressed by Kirkpatrick and Xu (2002), who argue that the variety of English spoken in China is a more adequate standard for communication in Asia than any Inner Circle norm imposed from the outside. Furthermore, not only does China English meet all the criteria of a new variety of English (Kirkpatrick, 2007), but is also slowly becoming accepted as such by its speakers (X. Hu, 2004, 2005). The same holds true for ELF interactions.

For example, studies on ELF corpora clearly show that adherence to ‘native speaker’ norms is not necessary for intelligibility or communicative success (Seidlhofer, 2011).

Interestingly, however, Holliday (2005) notes that on the whole many ‘non-native speakers’ still express rather negative attitudes towards ELF, viewing the ‘native speaker’ standard as the only correct one (see 2.3.4). Similar findings have been obtained by Jenkins (2007) who observes that local ‘non-native speaker’ models were viewed by the majority of the ‘non-native speaker’ respondents as inferior in comparison to the standard ‘native speaker’ models. This is perhaps due to the fact that SE discourse (see 2.2.4.1) has been so deeply internalised and ingrained in the minds of ‘non-native speaker’ students and teachers - be it through the discourse of native speaker fallacy (see 2.2.4.2), models presented in EFL course books or ELT recruitment policies (see 2.2.4.3) - that it now operates on a subconscious level (Seidlhofer, 2011). In addition, many high-stakes exams (e.g., IELTS, TOEIC, TOEFL), despite their claims to testing ‘international’ English, are heavily reliant on ‘native speaker’ models, especially British and American ones (Jenkins, 2015a; Jenkins & Leung, 2013). However, instead of evaluating learners’ (non-)conformity with ‘native speaker’ norms, the focus of teaching and testing English should shift to developing learners’ ability to communicate internationally, as well to appropriating, adapting and innovating the language to negotiate meaning (Jenkins, 2015a).

For example, as far as pronunciation teaching is concerned, Jenkins (2000, 2002) argues that instead of insisting on students’ conforming with ‘native speaker’ models, teachers should focus on the LFC (see 2.3.1). The LFC is based on research findings of communication between ‘non-native speakers’, and outlines features of English pronunciation and prosody which are necessary for intelligibility in international communication, and those which are not (Deterding, 2011; Deterding & Mohamad, 2016; Jenkins, 2002). The example of the former would be distinguishing between long and short vowels, while stress-timing and features of connected speech would be good examples of the latter. In short, research shows that in ELF settings, especially when communication occurs only between ‘non-native speakers’, suprasegmental features are much less important than segmentals. These findings are very important because they contradict previous widely-accepted findings on students’ intelligibility (Derwing & Munro, 1997; Derwing & Rossiter, 2003), which suggested that prosody training improves learners’ intelligibility much more than the one focused on segmentals. However, this research was based on ‘native speakers’ assessment of the pronunciation of ‘non-native speakers’, and is thus largely irrelevant to ELF communication, where ‘native speakers’ are typically a minority.

A focus on LFC is arguably not only a more achievable goal since few learners are ever able to perfectly imitate a ‘native speaker’ accent (Birdsong, 2004), but also a more appropriate one since the vast majority of learners will use English in ELF settings. In addition, it seems that using LFC as the pronunciation syllabus might improve students’ intelligibility more than teaching from a traditional pronunciation syllabus, which would typically focus on either British or American English pronunciation. For example, Rahimi and Ruzrokh (2016) analysed the improvement in intelligibility among 60 students of English in Iran, half of whom followed a pronunciation syllabus based on British English model, while the other half was taught LFC. The results indicate that the latter was much more effective in terms of improving learners’ intelligibility. Similar results were obtained when an LFC-based syllabus was applied with Arab learners (Zoghbor, 2011b). While these findings might indicate that insisting on conformity with ‘native speaker’ norms of pronunciation can actually be counter-productive, caution needs to be taken when interpreting them as these results may be influenced by several factors. For example, Zoghbor (2011b) points out that the rater’s familiarity with the participants’ L1 accent could have led to higher ratings of intelligibility.

Another important lesson from the LFC and ELF research is that having a foreign or L1 accent is not something a learner should worry about. In fact, since accents are so closely related to identity, students might not be willing to sound ‘native-like’ even in ESL settings (Dauer, 2005). Graddol (2006) argues that soon L2 accents might serve ‘non-native speakers’ to signal their place of origin in ELF settings, and just as with ‘native speaker’ accents, produce a sense of pride and belonging. Furthermore, Dauer (2005) rightly points out that using ‘native speaker’ judges almost exclusively in pronunciation research on accentedness and intelligibility has led to a profound bias, whereby the only criterion for intelligible pronunciation is being understood by a ‘native speaker’. This is very similar to the native speakerist bias in SLA research (see 2.2.3), which sees the ‘native speaker’ as the only target of L2 acquisition, an infallible judge of language correctness and appropriateness.

Apart from changing the focus of pronunciation teaching to a more LFC-oriented one, Subtirelu (2013), Sung (2014), Jin (2005) and Wang (2015) suggest teachers can and should also intervene to educate learners about ELF and the incredible diversity of WEs, which according to Baumgardner and Brown (2003) should become part of students’ linguistic knowledge. Indeed, Jin’s (2005) study shows that the reason why some students prefer ‘native speaker’ teachers (see 2.4.4) might be their lack of knowledge of ELF and WEs, as well as the misconception that a ‘native speaker’ speaks perfect and unaccented English (see 2.2.4.1 and 2.3.3). On the other hand, when students were informed about ELF, their negative attitudes towards ‘non-native’ accents diminished (Wang, 2015). Similarly, exposure to listening materials featuring speakers from a wide variety of backgrounds from Inner, Outer and Expanding Circles, can also lead to more positive attitudes among students towards ‘non-native speaker’ accents (Galloway & Rose, 2014). In addition, according to Ke and Cahyani (2014) providing students with opportunities to use English in genuine ELF contexts diminishes their preoccupation with adhering to ‘native speaker’ model and gives them a sense of ownership of the language, which is essential for achieving proficiency (Henry G. Widdowson, 1994).

What is evident here is how the discourses of SE (see 2.2.4.1) and native speaker fallacy (see 2.2.4.2) have spread and normalised the idea that SE is the most desirable norm to learn, and that only ‘native speakers’ are capable of teaching it. In the Chinese context, those learners who thought it was necessary to imitate ‘native speaker’ language norms were found to have been influenced by the prestige attached to these norms and the discourse of SE (Wang, 2016). However, since the majority of interactions in English are conducted in ELF settings where SE is not the norm, there seems to be a profound mismatch between how and for what purposes English will be used by learners, and what English is actually taught in the classroom (Jenkins, 2015a). What is more, students (and teachers) should be made aware of the fact that research indicates that it is a focus on LFC, and not on ‘native speaker’ pronunciation models, which leads to greater improvements in learners’ intelligibility (Rahimi & Ruzrokh, 2016; Zoghbor, 2011b). In fact, some students already notice the fact that it is not necessary to follow ‘native speaker’ language norms in order to communicate successfully in English (Wang, 2016). However, the discourses which support native speakerism (see 2.2.4) can nevertheless hinder the acceptance of ‘non-native speakers’ as legitimate English users. As a result, Kiczkowiak (2017) argues that teachers should not only introduce and discuss ELF and WEs with their students, but also debate topics such as what it means to be a native speaker (see 2.1), the native speaker fallacy (see 2.2.4.2), ELT recruitment policies (see 2.2.4.3) or the qualities of effective teachers (see 2.4.5). Such discussions with students can contribute to disrupting and questioning the discourses which support and maintain the power of the ideology of native speakerism in ELT.

Furthermore, it is also important to bring ELF and WEs research into ELT teacher training programmes which still to a large extent promote methodologies produced in the ‘native-speaking’ Centre, and thus contribute to the maintenance of native speakerism (see 2.3.3).

Another reason for introducing these topics into teacher education is that ELF does not yet seem to have entered teachers' consciousness (Seidlhofer, 2011). Consequently, although some teachers might in fact favour and support ELF conceptually, they are often at a loss as how it can or should inform their teaching practice (Dewey, 2012; Murray, 2003; Seidlhofer, 2015). Since teacher education has been slow to respond to ELF research (see 2.3.3), there is still a lack of adequate training and knowledge of ELF or WEs among practitioners, which might not allow them to adapt course books materials to provide more appropriate and varied models of language for their learners, and thus perpetuate the current status quo where SE is the dominant model taught. What is needed then, is not necessarily a change in course books towards a more ELF-oriented paradigm (see 2.3.2), but rather a change in teacher education that will show teachers how to adapt the existing materials (Seidlhofer, 2015).

However, what needs to change is also the attitude of many ELF scholars, who for a long time did not view it as their job to inform ELT practitioners how ELF ideas could be implemented into regular classes (Jenkins, 2011). This is slowly changing, and several ELF scholars have already proposed how ELF-based methodology could be taught during in- or pre-service teacher training courses (Bayyurt & Sifakis, 2015a; Bozzo, 2015; Dewey, 2012; C. J. Hall et al., 2013; Pedrazzini, 2015). In addition, Kiczkowiak et al. (2016) suggest that not only ELF and WEs research, but also the issues of native speakerism in ELT should be incorporated into initial teacher training programmes such as CertTESOL and CELTA in order to raise trainees' awareness of a profound ideological bias in ELT in favour of 'native speakers'. This awareness raising can in turn lead to teachers being more adequately prepared and willing to question the various discourses which validate native speakerism as is evidenced by Bayyurt and Sifakis' (2015a) study, for example. The researchers developed and tested what they called an ELF-aware pedagogy on Turkish and Greek teachers of English. The results seem very encouraging as the teacher participants, who had no previous knowledge of ELF, report not only changing their beliefs about SE and ELF, but also having a better understanding of how to implement an ELF-based approach in their classes.

The next section will continue the exploration of possible ways forward, away from the ideology of native speakerism. It will present and critique research findings on the strengths and weaknesses of 'native' and 'non-native speakers' (see 2.4.1 and 2.4.2), as well as recruiters' (see 2.4.3) and students' attitudes (see 2.4.4) towards the teachers from the two groups. It will end by suggesting that focusing research on the qualities of effective teachers (see 2.4.5), regardless of their L1, might allow ELT to tackle native speakerism.

2.4 Native or Non-native: What Do Students, Teachers and Recruiters Think?

So far native speakerism in ELT (see 2.2) has been presented and critiqued from a theoretical vantage point. For example, there is no doubt that from an academic perspective, the argument that a 'native speaker' is *a priori* a better teacher does not hold much water (see 2.2.4.2), especially taking into account the ELF perspective discussed in the previous section (see 2.3). Nevertheless, it is not clear yet what the attitudes of students, teachers and recruiters might be towards 'native' and 'non-native speakers' and their roles in ELT. As a result, their perspectives are discussed in this section.

First, however, the research on strengths and weaknesses of 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers, which was the first attempt to empirically test and debunk the 'native speaker' fallacy, is presented. While well-intended, this research strand has resulted in creating more native speakerist stereotypes about the two groups, not least because of its unproblematised use of the terms 'native' and 'non-native speaker' as if they were objective

and neutral labels (see 2.1.5). Then, recruiters' attitudes towards the two groups are discussed in order to see how they justify discriminatory recruitment practices, which are so widespread in ELT (see 2.2.4.3). Since a possible justification could be students' overwhelming preference for 'native speaker' teachers, learners' attitudes towards the two groups of teachers are also outlined. Finally, in the last section, it is suggested that a focus on qualities and skills of effective teachers in general, regardless of their 'nativeness' or lack thereof, can help move ELT away from the ideology of native speakerism.

2.4.1 Native or Non-native Speaker Teacher: Who Is Worth More?

The title of this section was borrowed from Medgyes' (1992) seminal paper which started a flurry of activity concentrating on attempts to prove that 'non-native speakers' could also be good teachers of English, and thus to debunk the native speaker fallacy (see 2.2.4.2). While Medgyes' research stated that both groups could be effective teachers, and thus the ideal situation in any educational institution was to have a mixture of 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers, it nevertheless emphasised the latter's deficient linguistic abilities. He concluded that "non-native speakers are ill at ease with using English accurately and appropriately, and their fluency does not come up to native levels, either" (Medgyes, 1992, p. 343). This conclusion is perhaps not that surprising bearing in mind the prevalent opinions of influential linguists at the time. For example, Quirk (1990) highlights that 'non-native speaker' teachers should strive to remain in touch with how 'native speakers' use the language. Likewise, Sheorey (1986) observes that acquiring 'native-like' sensitivity to errors is the goal 'non-native speaker' teachers should aspire to. 'Native speaker' teachers and SE (see 2.2.4.1) were also typically viewed as the only appropriate models of language for learners (Kramsch, 1998; Sung, 2011).

Despite emphasising the linguistic deficiency 'non-native speaker' teachers suffered from, Medgyes (1992, pp. 346–347) also lists six distinct advantages that 'non-native speaker' teachers have, but 'native speaker' teachers do not, which are:

1. being a better learner model;
2. providing students with effective language-learning strategies;
3. giving more in-depth information about the target language;
4. being better able to anticipate and solve language-related problems;
5. being more empathetic towards their students;
6. using the students' mother tongue to facilitate learning.

Subsequent studies have confirmed many of these unique advantages suggested by Medgyes. For example, having a 'non-native speaker' teacher might be beneficial and motivating for students, because it can help them overcome the cultural and linguistic barriers inherent in a language learning process (Bayyurt, 2006). Faez (2012), Nemtchinova (2005), and Lipovsky and Mahboob (2010) observe that 'non-native speaker' teachers are also typically more empathetic and having mastered the language themselves, serve as a role model for learners. This can also be crucial for motivating learners (Cheng & Dörnyei, 2007), and together with other skills and qualities of effective teachers is discussed later (see 1.4.5).

In addition, Widowson (1994) points out that 'non-native speaker' teachers have an advantage over 'native speaker' teachers because of their language learning experience even if they are at a slight disadvantage when it comes to language proficiency. Scholars have also found that 'non-native speaker' teachers on average display higher language awareness (Llurda, 2005b; Medgyes, 1994; Phillipson, 1992), which together with their own experience of learning English results in their ability to anticipate and offer solutions to language difficulties students face (McNeill, 2005), as well as to advise learners how to best learn English based on their own

learning experience (Medgyes, 2001). Cheung and Braine (2007) add to this the importance of the cultural background local ‘non-native speaker’ teachers share with students, which allows them to better identify with their learners. This is related to understanding of the local education system, which has also been identified as one of the main strengths of ‘non-native speaker’ teachers (Llurda & Hugué, 2003; Ma, 2012; Reves & Medgyes, 1994). Finally, Üstünlüoğlu’s (2007) study reveals that ‘non-native speaker’ teachers have also been praised for better fulfilling in-class teaching and instructional roles.

Moreover, it has also been argued that teachers who are bilingual and bicultural, as is the case with many highly proficient ‘non-native speaker’ teachers, can contribute not only to the ELT profession (Llurda, 2005a), but also to students’ language development and success. In fact, D’Annunzio (1991) argued that his EFL program was successful as a result of having hired bilingual tutors who shared students’ cultural and L1 background. This was echoed by Aurebach (1993), who highlighted that recruiting ‘non-native speaker’ teachers can greatly benefit ELT programs. Many other scholars would likewise argue that having both ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers is the ideal situation for any language institution as the two groups can learn from each other complementing their distinct strengths and weaknesses (Medgyes, 1992, 1994, 2001; Tarnopolsky, 2000). Consequently, team and collaborative teaching has been suggested as a means of best exploiting the strengths of the two groups (Carless, 2006; Copland, Davies, Garton, & Mann, 2016).

Nevertheless, such an approach runs the risk of further propagating native speakerist stereotypes, whereby ‘native speaker’ teachers are only hired for their linguistic abilities and assigned to teach speaking and listening, while ‘non-native speakers’ are given grammar, writing or exam preparation classes, which seems to be a relatively common practice in Japan, for example (Houghton & Rivers, 2013b). Such a situation uses essentialist stereotypes and classifies teachers according to their imagined strengths, which are derived solely based on the teacher’s perceived speakerhood (see 2.1.5). It also does not allow for any negotiation of the teacher’s identity, nor for professional development which could mitigate individual weaknesses (see 2.4.2).

As far as common weaknesses of ‘non-native speaker’ teachers reported in literature are concerned, researchers point to their lack of self-confidence and low self-esteem as a major issue (Árva & Medgyes, 2000). According to Medgyes (1983) ‘non-native speaker’ teachers are locked in a schizophrenic situation, having spent their careers trying to adopt the ‘native speaker’ model, but at the same time knowing full well they can never achieve it. Indeed, Cook (2002, 2005) observes that many ‘non-native speaker’ teachers still very much look up to the ‘native speaker’ model as an ideal of perfect language. Thus, in a way, they “love what they can never be” (Llurda, 2009a, p. 19). This can lead to a situation where many ‘non-native speaker’ teachers might feel like impostors, pretending to be somebody who they are not and perhaps can never be (Bernat, 2008), or what Suárez (2000) dubbed: “I-am-not-a-native-speaker syndrome”.

This lack of self confidence in their own value displayed by many ‘non-native speaker’ teachers can be further aggravated by having their abilities questioned by students (see 2.4.4), students’ parents, supervisors and colleagues (Amin, 1997; Kiczkowiak & Wu, 2018; Liu, 1999). As a result, ‘non-native speaker’ teachers feel not only linguistically, but also instructionally inferior to ‘native speaker’ teachers, who they accept as the source of authority and the rightful owners of the language (Sifakis & Sougari, 2005; Tsui & Bunton, 2000) and of ‘correct’ teaching methodology. They also display rather negative attitudes to ELF (see 2.3.3). In a way, then, it could be argued that ‘non-native speaker’ teachers perpetuate their own marginalisation by downplaying their own capabilities to teach English. Holliday (2005, 2013) has shown that there is a profound cultural disbelief among ‘native speaker’ ELT professionals as to the value of ‘non-native speaker’ contributions to the profession. However, what the

aforementioned studies seem to indicate is that there is also a profound cultural self-disbelief among ‘non-native speakers’, who have been found to express derogatory attitudes and excessive criticism of their ‘non-native speaker’ colleagues (N. B. Doan, 2016).

These feelings of inferiority as language users can no doubt have a negative impact on teaching performance of ‘non-native speaker’ teachers, because according to Murdoch (1994), teacher’s proficiency in the target language is the fundamental basis of their professional self-confidence. Indeed, Reves and Medgyes (1994) note that the more proficient the ‘non-native speaker’ was, the more self-confident in class they appeared. On the other hand, low language proficiency can have a negative influence on teacher’s performance in the class (Farrell & Richards, 2007). Richards, Conway, Roskvist, and Harvey (2013) for example, evaluated classroom performance of twenty-four foreign language teachers in New Zealand against the seven aspects of teaching based on Farrell and Richards (2007). What they observed was that only the teachers who were highly proficient were found to operate in all seven aspects. Hence, some scholars, while sympathetic to the current situation in which the status of ‘non-native speaker’ teachers is undermined by their perceived lack of ‘native-like’ fluency, insist ‘non-native speakers’ need to be proficient users of English in order to be able to fully show their teaching skills (Derwing & Munro, 2005; McNeill, 2005; Medgyes, 1992; Reves & Medgyes, 1994).

Nevertheless, so far only a handful of studies have been conducted on the relationship between teacher’s proficiency level and their effectiveness in class. It is not clear then what the minimum level of proficiency is needed to be effective in class, nor whether such a level exists. Furthermore, native-like proficiency should not be treated as the most important ‘qualification’ to be a successful English teacher since there are numerous other traits that are essential to being an effective teacher (see 2.4.5). Thus, as was highlighted previously (see 2.2.4.2), being highly proficient, or an expert informant, does not turn one into an expert instructor (Henry G. Widdowson, 1994).

Another typical weakness of ‘non-native speaker’ teachers is a teacher-centred, traditional teaching approach, which can make their classes seem very formal and boring (Üstünlüoğlu, 2007). However, this probably has much more to do with the training and educational background of the teacher in question, rather than their speakerhood. Finally, ‘non-native speaker’ teachers have also been criticised for inaccurate pronunciation (Sung, 2014), limited use of English in class (Cheung & Braine, 2007) and low proficiency (Ma, 2012). This could be linked to a still widespread view that SE is the only ‘correct’ model learners and teachers should aspire to (see 2.2.4.1), and to the fact that ‘non-native speaker’ accents are still viewed as inferior both by teachers and students (see 2.3.3).

As far the typical strengths and weaknesses of ‘native speaker’ teachers are concerned, this group is often associated with being a better language model for students and having superior language skills (Medgyes, 1992, 1994; Quirk, 1990). As a result, ‘native speaker’ teachers are reported to have a wider knowledge of collocations and vocabulary, and students praise them for the authenticity of the language they teach and employ in the classroom (Barratt & Kontra, 2000; Rao, 2010). Brutt-Griffler and Samimy (1999) observe that their participants (MA and PhD in TESOL students) found ‘native speaker’ teachers to be fluent, use more natural English, and focus on teaching communication. In addition, according to Love and Ansaldo (2010), a ‘native speaker’ is argued to have intuitions about language which allow them to judge what is correct and incorrect. These intuitions are said to be unavailable to ‘non-native speakers’ (Coppieters, 1987). This view, however, has been called into question by Paikeday (1985b), Bialystok (1997), Davies (2001) and Bridsong (1992, 2004), who all show evidence that it is not necessarily ‘native speakers’ but proficient users of a language - that is, both ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’ - who have intuitions about language and can thus effectively judge grammaticality (see 2.1.1).

This feeling of linguistic authority and superiority is also evident in how some ‘native speakers’ feel about themselves and their role in ELT. For example, they have been found to often attest what is linguistically correct and what is not solely based on their ‘native speaker’ status (Tsui & Bunton, 2000). In the British context, for example, they are reported to “consider it their ‘birthright’ to criticise, albeit without foundation, not only the linguistic and pedagogic performance, but also the cultural background of their ‘non-native speaker’ colleagues” (Aboshisha, 2008, as cited in Holliday, 2013, p. 18). These ‘native speakers’ also justified their status in ELT and worldwide job opportunities with superior language proficiency and pedagogy, as well as their British educational background (Aboshisha, 2008, as cited in Aboshiha, 2015, p. 44). Furthermore, the ‘native speaker’ respondents in Canh’s (2013) study conducted in Vietnam seem rather dismissive of the local culture of education, which they see as teacher-centred, traditional and memory-based; hence hindering critical thinking, learner autonomy and independent thinking. This is clearly indicative of native speakerism and cultural disbelief, which view all ‘non-native speakers’ as confined by their inferior culture, language abilities and instructional skills (see 2.2.2). Any ‘native speaker’, on the other hand, and any teaching approach produced in the ‘native-speaking’ West is *a priori* viewed as superior and more appropriate (see 2.2.4.2).

‘Native speaker’ teachers are also perceived by their ‘non-native speaker’ colleagues and by students as more confident and knowledgeable about the target culture (Benke & Medgyes, 2005; Chun, 2014; Inbar-Lourie, 2001, 2005; Rao, 2010). This is despite the fact that researchers highlight that ‘non-native speaker’ teachers can also be successful in enhancing students’ knowledge of the culture of English-speaking countries (Nemtchinova, Mahboob, Eslami, & Dogancay-Aktuna, 2010). Furthermore, it is not necessarily true that students need or want to learn about ‘native speaker’ culture (see 2.2.4.2), especially if they will use English in ELF settings (see 2.3.1), which necessitates intercultural skills and an understanding of the culture of the interlocutor, who most likely is not a ‘native speaker’.

Returning to ‘native speaker’ teachers’ strengths, though, students see them as employing a variety of interactive and communicative teaching activities and methods (Barratt & Kontra, 2000; Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999; Rao, 2010; Sung, 2014), as well as more skilled at teaching pronunciation and speaking skills (Benke & Medgyes, 2005; Butler, 2004; Kelch & Santana-Williamson, 2002). Moreover, ‘native speaker’ teachers tend to value students’ participation and individual contributions, emphasising learners’ responsibility for their progress (Sung, 2014). Benke and Medgyes (2005) also observe that ‘native speaker’ teachers are much more likely to extemporise, which, however, in certain contexts may lead to them being perceived as less organised (Chun, 2014). They have also been found to give less homework and to correct errors less frequently, and to be more lenient in general (Benke & Medgyes, 2005; Chun, 2014), characteristics which depending on the situation and teaching context can either be positive or negative. Finally, ‘native speaker’ teachers are also often seen as more approachable, cheerful and enthusiastic than ‘non-native speaker’ teachers (Üstünlüoğlu, 2007).

On the other hand, as far as their weaknesses are concerned, according to Rao (2010) ‘native speaker’ teachers are much less sensitive to students’ problems and difficulties due to lack of knowledge of students’ L1 and culture. Similar observation was made by Medgyes (1992), who also suggested that ‘native speaker’ teachers should put more effort into learning about students’ language, culture and educational needs and background. This is important as it can allow the teacher to clarify language and concepts using local examples which are more readily understood by students. Hungarian students in Barratt and Kontra’s (2000) study confirmed these observations, highlighting lack of knowledge of the local cultural and educational setting as one of the major weaknesses of ‘native speaker’ teachers. Nevertheless, such statements again can be viewed as drawing on native speakerism and the divisive discourse of us and them

(see 2.2.2), whereby ‘native speakers’ are construed as exotic others, unfamiliar with local culture, and incapable or unwilling to bridge the cultural gap (see 2.4.2).

Rao (2010) also notes that the new teaching approaches utilised by ‘native speaker’ teachers, while on the one hand encouraging students to speak, might on the other hand be counter-productive if they do not match how students expect to learn nor what they consider good teaching practice. For example, Chinese students Rao studied felt ill at ease when having to take part in role plays and games in class. This is confirmed by Lamb and Wedell (2013) who highlight that EFL students in China prefer teachers who have a more teacher-centred style and who focus more on grammar. This shows that teachers need to be sensitive to the local educational and socio-cultural traditions, and adapt their teaching approach accordingly (Holliday, 1994), which is further discussed below (see 2.4.5). It also calls for a reevaluation of ELT methodology presented in teacher training courses, which has been criticised as anglocentric, insensitive and out-of-sync with the local educational, linguistic and cultural background of the teachers and students (Kiczkowiak et al., 2016; Kumaravadivelu, 2006; Llurda, 2004).

As hinted on several occasions above, the ‘who’s worth more’ approach to tackling the native speaker fallacy discussed in this section suffers from various problems. For example, it has been criticised for excessive emphasis on inherent linguistic superiority of ‘native speakers’, which could lead to perpetuating the marginalisation of ‘non-native speaker’ professionals (Selvi, 2014, 2016). In a way, this research strand fully accepts what it aims to question, that is the ideology of native speakerism (see 2.2.2) and the linguistic superiority of ‘native speakers’, which lies at the heart of the native speaker fallacy (see 2.2.4.2). On the one hand, an attempt is made to evaluate English teachers based on their effectiveness in the classroom, but on the other essentialist notions of what ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers are capable of are applied and defended. Furthermore, ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ labels are not problematised or contextualised, and they are assumed to be well-defined, objective and neutral (see 2.1.5). As a result, this research has been argued to have spawned more stereotypes about the two groups, than it has managed to overcome, and to have led to the comparative fallacy, which is looked at in the following section.

2.4.2 Comparative Fallacy: Fighting Stereotypes With More Stereotypes

Medgyes’ (1992) pioneering work has been based on the premise that since ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’ use English differently, the latter being limited by their deficient proficiency, they also teach in fundamentally different ways. As a result, the researchers who followed him have focused on the distinct strengths and weaknesses ‘native speaker’ teachers and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers possess. While it has led to the weakening of the native speaker fallacy and empowering ‘non-native speaker’ teachers, it has also led to the two groups being viewed as two separate species, whose characteristics are not transferable from one species to the other, exacerbating the us and them dichotomy so central to native speakerism (see 2.2.2). Thus, in a way, the research described in the previous section has helped spread the very stereotypes it aimed to dismantle.

First, several scholars point to the futility of continuous comparisons of ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers’ strengths, which is often referred to as ‘comparative fallacy’ (Mahboob, 2005; Moussu & Llurda, 2008; Selvi, 2014). For example, Mahboob (2005) criticises this approach for perpetuating the belief that ‘native speaker’ teachers are better models of the language, and that ‘non-native speaker’ teachers must be in constant contact with ‘native’ language in order to perform well in class. Moussu and Llurda (2008) argue that such comparisons do not contribute to empowerment of ‘non-native speaker’ teachers or a decrease

in prejudice and discrimination this group suffers. Indeed, after careful analysis of the last two decades of research devoted to ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ issues in ELT, Kamhi-Stein (2016) highlights that it has unfortunately failed to create more equality between the two groups. For this reason Kumaravadivelu (2016) criticises research focusing on the strengths and weaknesses of the two groups, or on trying to prove that ‘non-native speakers’ can teach English well. Instead, he proposes a focus on more pro-active research aimed at dismantling native speakerism, which is also advocated by Kiczkowiak (2017). For Kumaravadivelu (2016), the question whether ‘non-native speakers’ can teach English well is a moot point, since all teachers, whether ‘native’ or ‘non-native’ must undergo pedagogical training (see 2.4.5).

In addition, as many other scholars have observed (Farrell, 2015; Park, 2012; Rudolph et al., 2015; Selvi, 2014, 2016), the comparative fallacy has also artificially created two dichotomous and mutually exclusive types of teachers, defining what each is and is not capable of doing in class. According to Farrell (2015), this has further aggravated the polarisation between the two labels (see 2.2.3). Selvi (2014, p. 14) calls this rigid and fixed divide “regimes of truth”, which do not allow for a more contextualised description of individual teachers’ professional identity (see 2.2.1). These unquestionable regimes of truth can lead to a situation where the two groups of teachers are assigned different classes or given different duties at work, which was mentioned in the previous section (see 2.4.1). Hence, the academic discourse around the strengths and weaknesses of ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers leads to them being seen as neutral, measurable and ideologically unproblematic. This allows for a creation of a discriminatory social practice, which further instils native speakerist ideology in the mind of teachers (see 2.4.1), recruiters (see 2.4.3) and students (see 2.4.4).

Moreover, the typical virtues attributed to ‘native speaker’ teachers (e.g., fluency, knowledge of idioms) can also be learned by ‘non-native speaker’ teachers (Phillipson, 1992). For example, Davies (2003, p. 196) points out that both English language learners and teachers “can become native speaker like in the target language in terms of proficiency, communicative competence and linguistic competence”. This is confirmed by the attitudes of some students in Lipovsky and Mahboob’s (2010) study of ESL learners in the US who praised their ‘non-native speaker’ teachers for their speaking skills and knowledge of vocabulary (see 2.4.4).

Likewise, many of the typical virtues of ‘non-native speaker’ teachers can also be learned by ‘native speaker’ teachers. For example, numerous ‘native speakers’ gain a deep understanding of the local culture, language and educational setting after a long stay in that country. Lowe and Kiczkowiak (2016) show in their duoethnography that personal experiences of ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers can contradict the overall ‘who’s worth more’ narrative (see 2.4.1). Contrary to it, Robert Lowe, a ‘native speaker’ from the Inner Circle, sees himself as being able to empathise with his Japanese learners very well, having lived in Japan for many years, and having studied Japanese. On the other hand, Marek Kiczkowiak, a ‘non-native speaker’ finds it difficult to understand learners who struggle to learn English despite the fact that he has learnt English and 5 other foreign languages. Hence, as the two researchers highlight, it is doubtful whether a list of typical characteristics of teachers from the two groups could be true across ELT due to the fact that neither ‘native’ nor ‘non-native speaker’ teachers constitute a homogenous group (Lowe & Kiczkowiak, 2016). Similarly, the participants’ in Doan’s (2016) study all reject the notion that their ‘non-nativeness’ is a source of the typical weaknesses ascribed to ‘non-native speakers’ by researchers (see 2.4.1). In fact, as pointed out earlier (see 2.1.5), the difference between the two groups is not clear-cut, and the labels can often be employed subjectively to justify native speakerist attitudes in ELT recruitment (see 2.2.4.3), for example. Thus, according to Llorca (2015), teachers in different settings are likely to face different issues and difficulties, and as a result construct different professional identities and ways of coping with the challenges.

Indeed, a further problem with ‘who’s worth more’ research strand is that in all the studies the ‘non-native speaker’ teachers are also local teachers, and so by definition know students’ L1, culture, and are familiar with the educational setting. However, there are also many ‘non-native speaker’ teachers who do not teach in their home countries, and as a result will not necessarily be familiar with the local culture, language or education system. This situation does not seem to be addressed by any of the studies presented in the previous section (see 2.4.1). Furthermore, while it is undeniable that many ‘non-native speakers’ do indeed have low proficiency in the language which might hinder their ability to teach it, many are indistinguishable from ‘native speakers’. Kamhi-Stein, Aagard, Ching, Paik, and Sasser’s (2004) study on kindergarten teachers in the US does not support earlier results obtained in Europe, mainly in Hungary, which suggested that ‘native speaker’ teachers and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers teach differently because of the latter’s linguistic shortcomings (Árva & Medgyes, 2000; Benke & Medgyes, 2005; Medgyes, 1992, 1994, 2001). In fact, Kamhi-Stein et al. (2004) found very little difference in language skills among the two groups, or any resulting noticeable differences in teaching styles.

The final criticism of the research on strengths and weaknesses of ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers is that the differences in teaching observed by researchers are immediately attributed to the teacher’s L1. So for example, if students report that ‘non-native speaker’ teachers do not use communicative activities and have a teacher centred style (Üstünlüoğlu, 2007), this is seen as inextricably connected to the teacher’s L1. However, the reasons for this could be manifold and very well entirely different. For example, it is not improbable that type and quality of pedagogical training, as well as the length and breadth of teacher’s experience, could influence their performance in class and be responsible for some of the observed differences in teaching styles.

Nevertheless, it is evident that the essentialised strengths and weaknesses of ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers (see 2.4.1) are quite widespread and deeply-ingrained in the minds of not only many teachers, but also students and recruiters. Similarly to the ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ labels (see 2.1.5), they have become normalised as objective part of ELT knowledge. Hence, it is worth examining recruiters’ and students’ attitudes to ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers to see if they also appeal to their stereotypical strengths and weaknesses when describing their beliefs. Since the native speaker fallacy still exerts such a profound influence on ELT recruitment policies (see 2.2.4.3), recruiters’ perceptions of the two groups of teachers will be analysed first.

2.4.3 Recruiters’ Attitudes to Native and Non-Native Speaker Teachers

There is no doubt that a widespread favouritism towards ‘native speaker’ teachers can be observed in ELT recruitment policies (see 2.2.4.3). Numerous studies have been conducted around the world, all indicating that approximately three-quarters of all ELT positions advertised are for ‘native speakers’ only (Mahboob & Golden, 2013; Ruecker & Ives, 2015; Selvi, 2010). However, there seems to be an acute lack of evidence in support of the ‘native speaker’ fallacy, or the idea that ‘native speakers’ are intrinsically better suited to teach English (see 2.2.4.2 and 2.4.5). Both ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers have been reported to have different strengths and weaknesses, and there is nothing that indicates that one group has *a priori* any significant advantage over the other (see 2.4.1). Consequently, it seems important to investigate recruiters’ perceptions of ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers in order to better understand the overwhelming bias towards ‘native speaker’ teachers in recruitment. Unfortunately, few studies have attempted to explore what ELT recruiters believe are the respective strengths and weaknesses of ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers, or why they

might insist on only recruiting ‘native speakers’ of English. Literature search has only identified three studies, all of which were conducted in an ESL setting either in the US or the UK.

One such study was carried out by Mahboob et al. (2004), who examined administrators of Intensive English Programmes in the US, one of whose roles was recruiting new teachers. The researchers checked the importance these administrators attached to ten different hiring criteria on a 6-point Likert scale. Teaching experience and educational experience received the highest mean rating, 4.28 and 4.15 out of 5, respectively, and also had a low standard deviation, which means that most participants were in agreement about the importance of these two characteristics. Being a ‘native speaker’ ranked fourth with a mean rating of 2.86. However, the standard deviation was by far the highest of all criteria (2.86), which shows that respondents were in disagreement as to the importance of this criterion. Almost half (45.9%) of 122 administrators who responded to the questionnaire considered that being a ‘native speaker’ was a moderately or highly important characteristic, but 29.5 per cent thought it was not very important or not important at all. Mahboob et al. (2004) also found that only 7.9 per cent of 1425 ESL teachers employed by the 122 administrators were ‘non-native speaker’ teachers. They highlighted a correlation between the importance placed by administrators on being a ‘native speaker’ and that of the ratio of employed ‘non-native speakers’. Hence, they conclude that “in making hiring decisions, the importance given to being a native English speaker is more significant than the professional background of teachers” (Mahboob et al., 2004, p. 113).

Similar findings were obtained by Clark and Paran (2007), who studied recruiters in UK language schools and universities. The results show that 45.6 per cent of the respondents thought that being a ‘native speaker’ was a very important trait of a prospective candidate, while only 11 per cent viewed it as unimportant at all or relatively unimportant. The recruiters in this study do not seem to associate being a ‘native speaker’ with ethnicity or nationality, though, as 58 per cent and 52.3 per cent stated that ethnicity and being a British citizen, respectively, were either unimportant at all or relatively unimportant. Nevertheless, literature does suggest that being a ‘native speaker’ is often very closely connected to being from one of the seven Inner Circle countries, as well as to being white and Western-looking (see 2.1.4).

Furthermore, 67.5 per cent considered accent to be either somewhat, moderately or very important. This is in line with the results of Mahboob’s et al. (2004) study, which also found that recruiters did not think nationality or citizenship was important ($M=1.13$ and $M=1.24$, respectively), but attached the same importance to accent as to being a ‘native speaker’ of English ($M=2.86$). Furthermore, recruiters in Clark and Paran’s study make their recruitment decisions based on their belief that being a ‘native speaker’ is an important characteristic. The researchers conclude that ‘non-native speakers’ “are less likely to be employed by those recruiters in this sample who believe that being a NES is important” (Clark & Paran, 2007, p. 422), which corroborates Mahboob’s et al. (2004) results. Nevertheless, Clark and Paran’s (2007) findings do seem to provide a glimmer of hope for the job-seeking ‘non-native speaker’ teachers since four other characteristics were chosen as more important than being a ‘native speaker’, namely: educational background, teaching qualifications, teaching experience and performance in interview. The researchers caution, however, that despite the aforementioned criteria being viewed as more important, a ‘non-native speaker’ might still be turned down solely based on their speakerhood, before their CV is properly considered (Clark & Paran, 2007).

None of the two studies investigated whether the recruiters recognised any of the strengths and weaknesses of ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers (see 2.1.4). This gap was filled by Moussu (2006), who also studied administrators of Intensive English Programmes in the US. Her findings correlate with many of the strengths and weaknesses identified previously (see 2.4.1). Namely, the administrators praised ‘non-native speaker’ teachers for their pedagogical skills, being a role model for students and empathising with learners. However, ‘non-native

speaker' teachers were rated less positively for their foreign accent, low self-esteem and focus on grammar in teaching. Nevertheless, all administrators who took part in the study agreed or strongly agreed that 'non-native speaker' teachers could teach English just as well as 'native speaker' teachers (Moussu, 2006). In contrast to the two aforementioned studies, Moussu's respondents did not consider nativeness an important criterion. They also observed that they tried to talk to students who complained about being taught by a 'non-native speaker' about the advantages of having such a teacher, and would certainly not allow the student to move to a different class.

While this is quite reassuring, the fact that most students prefer 'native speaker' teachers seems to have become one of ELT's articles of faith, and might be the underlying reason for discriminatory recruitment policies (see 2.2.4.3). It is further supported by SLA research (see 2.2.3), which places the 'native speaker' as the ultimate language learning goal. Holliday (2008) reports that many influential British ELT employers have told him that while very much in favour of equal employment and professional opportunities for 'native' and 'non-native speakers', their hands are tied because the customers demand 'native speakers'. However, just how strong and widespread is this preference? And is there any solid evidence for its existence?

2.4.4 Do Students Prefer Native Speaker Teachers?

Although ELT recruitment policies (see 2.2.4.3) and recruiters (see 2.4.3) favour 'native speakers', perhaps based on an assumption that most students prefer 'native speaker' teachers, studies do not unequivocally confirm such a preference exists. In fact, there is very little, if any, evidence for a widespread preference among learners for 'native speakers'. For example, when Cook (2000) examined students (adolescents and children) from Belgium, Poland and England, she found that 18, 45 and 44 per cent of them, respectively, preferred a 'native speaker', while 25 per cent of Polish, 32 per cent of English and 47 per cent of Belgian respondents actually preferred a 'non-native speaker', the rest having no clear preference. He concluded that there is no evidence anywhere in literature that most students prefer 'native speakers' regardless of everything else.

Moving to the other side of the Atlantic, in a study of 84 ESL students enrolled in an intensive English programme in the US, 68 per cent responded that they could learn English equally well from a 'non-native speaker', and 84 per cent expected their classes with 'non-native speaker' teachers to be a positive experience (Moussu, 2002). When four years later Moussu (2006) studied 643 participants from ten different L1 backgrounds in US universities, she found that 87 per cent of students at the time taking classes with a 'non-native speaker' agreed that they were a good teacher, while 79 per cent would recommend having classes with a 'non-native speaker' to a friend. This might seem counter-intuitive as it is logical to assume that foreign students coming to the US to study English are much more likely to expect and want their teacher to be a local 'native speaker'. However, this does not seem to be the case. Neither is it the case in non-ESL contexts. For example, in a recent analysis of Korean English learners' preference for 'native speaker' teachers and 'non-native speaker' teachers 64.8 per cent of the respondents disagreed with the statement that English should only be taught by 'native speaker' teachers (Chun, 2014).

Consequently, research indicates that 'native speakers' are not automatically preferred by most students (Moussu, 2010), but that 'nativeness' is just one of many factors students take into account when judging their preferred teacher (see 2.4.5) (Cook, 2000). In fact, in an analysis of 50 learners, Walkinshaw and Duong (2012) found that students valued experience, qualifications, friendly personality, enthusiasm, ability to make classes interesting as well as understanding students' culture more highly than 'nativeness'. The only skill where they did

place more emphasis on ‘nativeness’ was pronunciation (see 2.3.3). Likewise, when researchers asked 76 ESL students to rate different qualities of the teachers that taught them at the time, such as their attitude to learners, teaching style or personality, without being prompted by the ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ labels; it turned out that there was no statistical difference between how students rated the two groups of teachers (Aslan & Thompson, 2016). In other words, these students perceived ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers as equal.

In addition, as illustrated previously (see 2.4.1), some students seem to also recognise the different strengths and weaknesses of ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers. Studies by Lasagabaster and Sierra (2002, 2005), Benke and Medgyes (2005), Mahboob (2004), Lipovsky and Mahboob (2010) and Chun (2014) confirm that rather than use preconceived biases against ‘non-native speakers’, learners are able to appreciate the qualities the two groups bring into the classroom. For example, Chun’s (2014, p. 8) research in Korea showed that while ‘native speaker’ teachers were viewed as “fluent, open-minded, lively, interesting and accurate”, Korean English Teachers were seen “as organised, approachable, motivating, inspiring and understanding”. Other research also indicates that learners are very much aware of the skills an effective English teacher should have (see 2.4.5) and do appreciate ‘non-native speaker’ teachers for how well they actually teach rather than applying negative stereotypes (Lipovsky & Mahboob, 2010; Mahboob, 2004; Pacek, 2005). This sentiment was reflected by one of the participants in Chun’s (2014) study who highlighted that ‘native speaker’ teachers should not be employed solely based on their L1, but the same high standards which are already applied to hiring local English teachers should also apply to ‘native speakers’. Ali (2009), who examined students’ beliefs about ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers in the Gulf Countries, observed that over half of the participants would actually really appreciate being consulted by the school about recruitment of teachers. As one participant put it, “teachers should be selected because of their skills, qualification, and dedication, not the (...) English country they lived in” (Eiman, email interview quoted in Ali, 2009, p. 49).

Hence, it would not be illogical to assume that the majority of students would like to be taught by a mixture of both ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers. Indeed, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2005) found that 70.2 per cent of the Spanish university students they studied would prefer a combination of the two groups (in comparison to only 50.6 per cent who expressed a preference for ‘native speaker’ teachers). In Hungary the figure was even higher, with 82 per cent of students wishing to be taught by a mixture of the two groups (Benke & Medgyes, 2005). In Poland, it was higher still, with about 95 per cent of students who either agreed or strongly agreed that their teacher’s nationality was irrelevant to them (Kula, 2011). This can be explained by the fact that students are able to notice the different and often complementary strengths and weaknesses of ‘native speaker’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers (see 2.4.1), and to understand that by having both, they are getting the best of both worlds (Lipovsky & Mahboob, 2010).

In addition, EFL and ESL students have also been reported to value qualities which are not linked to the teacher’s L1, or in other words, to their ‘nativeness’ or lack thereof. Cortazzi and Jin (1996) found that Chinese EFL students valued knowledgeable, patient and empathetic teachers most highly, while EFL students in Thailand appreciate teachers who are highly proficient, knowledgeable about the language and culture, and maintain a good rapport with the class (Mullock, 2010). Furthermore, sensitivity to students’ needs and problems as well as the ability to give clear explanations ranked top with three-quarters of ESL students in the UK (Pacek, 2005). The qualities which students and researchers consider important for teaching effectiveness are further discussed in the following section (see 2.4.5).

Students have also been found to appreciate their teacher’s pedagogical qualifications and background. For example, 29 per cent of respondents in Rao’s (2010) study of university students’ perceptions of ‘native speaker’ teachers were doubtful of their teachers’ qualifications and complained they were taught by ex-police officers, shop assistants or bus drivers. Similar

results were obtained by Lasagabaster and Sierra (2005), who studied Basque university students. Over a third of the participants who took part in their study reported concerns about 'native speaker' teachers lack of pedagogical qualifications and their inability to teach grammar. Likewise, Barratt and Kontra (2000), who carried out their research in Hungary, report learners' doubts about 'native speaker' teachers' pedagogical and professional preparation. Away from Europe, Arab students interviewed by Ali (2009) provided a long list of qualities of effective teachers, which among other traits included being knowledgeable, qualified and hard-working; however, none of the 31 participants mentioned being a 'native speaker' as a desirable trait. Despite recruiters' insistence on hiring 'native speakers' only (see 2.2.4.3 and 2.4.3), research does not seem to confirm that most students prefer 'native speakers'. In fact, it seems to indicate that students do not buy the 'native speaker' fallacy (see 2.2.4.2), and appreciate their teachers for how well they actually teach.

In addition, other studies also indicate that the preference (or lack thereof) for the 'native speaker' language norm (see 2.3.3) and 'native speaker' teachers is by no means fixed, but varies depending on factors such as time spent with 'non-native speaker' teachers, students' knowledge of different 'native' and 'non-native' accents (see 2.3.1 and 2.3.2), pressure from parents and level of students (Chun, 2014; Jin, 2005; Moussu, 2006; Subtirelu, 2013). For example, Jin (2005), who compared Chinese students' attitudes to ELF with those towards 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers, concludes that the more students knew and the more acceptant they were of ELF, the more willing they were to accept 'non-native speaker' teachers. Similarly, those students who have had experience using English in ELF contexts were much less likely to treat 'native speakers' as the only source of correctness or linguistic authority (Wang & Jenkins, 2016). Furthermore, Lasagabaster and Sierra (2005) showed that the preference for 'native speaker' teachers increased with the level of education, with more students preferring 'native speaker' teachers on tertiary than on primary level; while Chun (2014) and Liaw (2012) found that the preference also increased with students' level, with more students at low levels preferring 'non-native speaker' teachers. The preference (or lack thereof) can also vary according to the students' learning goals or type of course they are attending. For example, 'native speaker' teachers are usually preferred when it comes to teaching speaking and listening skills. On the other hand, 'non-native speaker' teachers are appreciated for their ability to teach grammar, writing and exam preparation classes (Benke & Medgyes, 2005; Kula, 2011; Liaw, 2012).

Finally, it has also been shown that the time spent with a 'non-native speaker' teacher can influence students' perceptions. For example, Pacek (2005), who studied students of English in British universities noted that while at the beginning of the course over a third expressed concern about their teacher being a 'non-native speaker', only 2 per cent raised any concerns at the end of the course. Similar results were also obtained by other researchers (Cheung & Braine, 2007; Lipovsky & Mahboob, 2010; Moussu, 2002, 2006, 2010; Mullock, 2010), indicating that exposure to 'non-native speaker' teachers increases students' appreciation of these teachers. All of this shows that with time students can overcome the initial prejudices they might harbour, and tend to judge their teachers based on their performance in class rather than based on their L1.

In addition, the bias towards 'native speaker' teachers found by some scholars is balanced by the high appreciation of the skills and knowledge 'non-native speaker' teachers bring into the table (Llurda, 2015). For example, Moussu (2002) found that 79 per cent of students she studied admired and respected 'non-native speaker' teachers. Likewise, Cheung and Braine (2007) report that university students in Hong Kong they surveyed enjoyed studying with 'non-native speakers' and expressed a favourable attitude towards them. Finally, in an ESL context in the US, learners gave 'non-native speaker' teachers an overall of sixty-nine positive comments, compared to only twenty-nine received by 'native speaker' teachers, and only six

negative ones, in contrast to twelve these students assigned to ‘native speaker’ teachers (Mahboob, 2004). In other words, ‘non-native speaker’ teachers received over twice as many positive and twice as few negative comments as ‘native speaker’ teachers.

Hence, the results of the studies presented here suggest that students do not necessarily prefer either group of teachers much more than the other, and their attitudes to both ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers will depend on a variety of factors, such as students’ level, previous experience with English teachers, as well as teachers’ preparedness for the profession. It was suggested that in order to overcome native speakerism and move to a more ELF-oriented paradigm, ELT needs to adopt a post-normative, or post-SE approach, embracing the practical implications of ELF for teaching and learning English (see 2.3.4). Similarly, I would suggest there needs to be a shift towards a post-comparative-fallacy approach to ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’ which will focus on teachers as individuals, and not as members of two distinct species. ‘Non-native speakers’ do not have higher language awareness because they are ‘non-native speakers’. They have higher language awareness because of their educational background. Similarly, ‘native speakers’ do not teach more communicatively because they are ‘native speakers’. They teach more communicatively because of their pedagogical training, which emphasised such style. None of these skills are innate, and thus to state that one group teaches more communicatively or more grammar-based because of the ‘nativeness’ factors, ignores the importance of teacher education and training. As a result, I agree with Farrell (2015) that it is time the comparative fallacy (see 2.4.2) was quietly dropped as yet another ELT myth, and instead the research focused on what constitutes effective teaching and what it means to be an effective teacher in a given local context. This approach will be taken in the following section.

2.4.5 Qualities and Skills of Effective English Teachers

Researchers point out that all language teachers, whether ‘native’ or ‘non-native speakers’, must undergo pedagogical training and acquire knowledge of and about the target language in order to be able to successfully teach it (Derwing & Munro, 2005). Furthermore, to be considered professional and effective, an English teacher needs to possess both procedural and declarative knowledge of the language (Mullock, 2010). Yet, defining what is meant by an effective or expert language, or more specifically English, teacher can cause researchers some problems, as what is meant by effective, expert or good teaching can differ depending on local socio-cultural and educational traditions or norms (J. C. Richards, 2010).

This means that somebody might be considered a very effective teacher in a particular context or country, but an ineffective one in a different context despite no variation in pedagogy (Mullock, 2010). For example, various researchers (Cheng & Dörnyei, 2007; Lamb & Wedell, 2013; Sugita & Takeuchi, 2010) point out that students and teachers from Confucian Heritage Cultures (e.g., China or Japan) might view successful teaching and learning differently to those from the West, for example, placing more emphasis on exam success, repetition, drilling and memorisation, but less on learner autonomy. It has been shown that Chinese public school English students favoured teachers who focused on grammar and used a more teacher-centred and traditional teaching approach, while their Indonesian counterparts preferred teachers who used communicative methods, fun activities and focused on speaking skills (Lamb & Wedell, 2013).

Furthermore, Pacek (2005) found sharp differences in terms of qualities of effective teachers between 43 students from Asia, Europe and South America who were all studying in a British university. Most notably, the former (Asia) attached greater importance to teacher’s personal traits, such as empathy, patience and kindness, than to their knowledge or ability to

use an array of teaching methods, two of the qualities valued most highly by European and South American students, who contrary to the Asian ones did not find personal traits important. Consequently, Mullock (2010) highlights that effective teaching is inextricably connected with knowing and understanding one's students, their culture, education system, and the approach to teaching which has the best effect on them. This observation contradicts the universal applicability and appropriateness claimed by most ELT methods, which was criticised by Kumaravadivelu (Kumaravadivelu, 2006), as well as against the native speakerist notion that Western pedagogy is not merely always suitable for 'non-Western' cultures, but that it is unquestionably superior (see 2.2.2).

Nevertheless, there is a certain consensus as to what characterises effective and expert English teachers across cultures. Many researchers agree that the ability to motivate learners is one of the virtues of successful teachers (Bell, 2005; Jones, Llacer-Arrastia, & Newbill, 2009; Lamb & Wedell, 2013), and numerous other scholars now confirm that teachers can indeed increase or decrease their students' motivation through different activities (Jones et al., 2009; Magid & Chan, 2012; Papi & Abdollahzadeh, 2012; Wu, 2003). One of the most celebrated examples is that of Dörnyei and Csizér's (1998) ten commandments for motivating language learners, which Dörnyei (2002) subsequently expanded to thirty-five macro-strategies. Later, Cheng and Dörnyei (2007) tested empirically some of these strategies on English learners in Taiwan and Hungary and discovered that the most effective technique for motivating learners was using teacher's own behaviour to set a positive example. In addition, Lamb and Wedell (2013) in their study of Chinese and Indonesian public school English students found that kindness, patience, encouragement, attention to the needs of individual learners and empathy had crucial effects on long-term learner motivation. As a result, it seems that an effective English teacher needs to also be a "good psychologist" (Girard, 1977, p. 102). Finally, according to Muijs and Reynolds (2001), effective teachers can stimulate and facilitate students' learning by inspiring curiosity and creativity and by promoting future learning.

Furthermore, numerous scholars point to the importance of subject knowledge for teachers (Lamb & Wedell, 2013; McNamara, 1991; Muijs & Reynolds, 2001; Pachler, 2007). For example, Tsui (2002) observed that teachers whose subject knowledge is limited often focus on seat work assignments and routinised student input. As far as language teachers are concerned, subject knowledge includes "knowledge of second language acquisition theory, pedagogical knowledge, curricular and syllabus knowledge and cultural knowledge, as well as teachers' proficiency in the target language and an awareness of the structure and features of the target language" (H. Richards et al., 2013, p. 232). Johnson (2009) formulated L2 teachers' knowledge in terms of three essential components: what the teacher needs to know, how they should teach and how they learn to teach; while Richards (2015) proposed dividing teachers' knowledge into pedagogical (e.g., Planning, Assessment) and disciplinary (e.g., Phonology, SLA).

Furthermore, Britten (1985), Phillipson (1992) and Ellis (2006) have all argued that the experience of learning a foreign language should be considered an important characteristic of a successful English teacher and of their subject knowledge. This could help the teacher become a role model, which according to Cheng and Dörnyei (2007), is the key factor that can help motivate students. In addition to having learnt a foreign language, it has also been emphasised that English teachers should ideally know their students L1 and culture (Kirkpatrick, 2007). First, knowing the cultural and linguistic background might help inform the choice of appropriate methodology. Furthermore, Swan (2015) argues that knowing learners' L1 and culture can contribute to the teacher's understanding of students' needs and the problems they might be having learning English. This reflects a tendency in literature to reevaluate and reinstate the importance and possible benefits of the use of students' L1 in classroom (Cook, 2001a; Kirkpatrick, 2007; Macaro, 2005; Yphantides, 2013), for example in order to raise students'

awareness of the differences and similarities between their L1 and English (Cots, 2008). This is a much welcome change since it can help tackle the ‘native speaker’ fallacy (see 2.2.4.2), and the monolingual orientation both SLA and ELT have suffered from (see 2.2.3).

As mentioned above, proficiency in the target language forms part of the necessary subject knowledge an effective teacher should have (H. Richards et al., 2013). For example, Shin (2008) views it as a crucially important characteristic of expert language teachers. This is confirmed by Lamb and Wedell’s (2013) results, which showed that some students were motivated by high language proficiency of their teachers. However, others are concerned that too much emphasis has been placed on ‘native-like’ proficiency as a pre-requisite of effective English teachers leading to unfair recruitment policies (see 2.2.4.3) and an entrenchment of native speakerism (Tweed, 2011). As a result, a necessary degree of proficiency should not be understood in terms of its closeness to the ‘native speaker’ norm, but rather in terms of being able to provide an intelligible and attainable language model (Kirkpatrick, 2007). In fact, having analysed teacher trainers’ perceptions of ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ trainees’ language use in class, Nemtchinova et al. (2010) conclude that it is not ‘native-like’ fluency, but the ability to use and grade English appropriately to the student’s level which is essential in class. This is reassuring bearing in mind the longing for SE and ‘native-like’ proficiency that many ‘non-native speaker’ teachers express (see 2.3.3).

Moreover, it should also be emphasised that language proficiency does not guarantee language awareness, which is another important trait of successful language teachers, as it allows teachers to appropriately respond to students’ immediate language needs and enhance learning (H. Richards et al., 2013). On the other hand, teachers with limited language awareness have been found to avoid teaching certain aspects of the language all together (Borg, 2001). Bearing the spread of English globally in mind (see 2.3.1), teachers should also be aware of how English has developed, become the global lingua franca, and how the different WEs differ from each other in terms of lexis, grammar or phonology (Kirkpatrick, 2007).

While effective teachers do need to possess a wealth of subject knowledge, they should be able to synthesise their subject knowledge to provide learners with explanations and feedback (H. Richards et al., 2013) in the form of “brief hints, guidelines and corrections” (Scrivener, 2005, p. 19). Similarly, effective teachers are better able to organise and utilise their knowledge, which can be linked to the importance of effective classroom management and instructional skills (Muijs & Reynolds, 2001). Hence, the ability to convey knowledge effectively to learners is crucial.

Apart from pedagogical and disciplinary knowledge, being a reflective practitioner who learns from their mistakes is also important. According to Farrell (2013), effective teachers should engage in critical reflection, access past experiences and actively involve students in the learning process. In a subsequent paper he reemphasised that one of the most important characteristic of effective language teachers is the ability to reflect on their own practice, and described five stages constituting a reflective framework: Philosophy; Principles; Theory; Practice; and Beyond Practice (Farrell, 2015). Reflection is crucial to effective teaching as it can help teachers improve their future classroom practice and base their teaching decisions and approaches on data (Chien, 2013; Farrell, 2013). In addition, it is essential to be able to critically evaluate the appropriateness of the teaching materials for the particular local setting (Kirkpatrick, 2007). Reflection can also no doubt help identify one’s individual strengths and weaknesses as a teacher, and to work on eradicating the latter.

To summarise, as Farrell (2015) argues, it is not the teacher’s ethnicity, mother tongue or culture that define them as a good or a bad teacher. Neither should they be seen as the main reason for the differences in teaching style or classroom behaviour between ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers observed by some scholars (e.g. Árvai & Medgyes, 2000; Benke & Medgyes, 2005). While low proficiency in the language some ‘non-native speaker’ teachers

suffer from might negatively impact their performance in class, it would be a native speakerist and essentialist over-generalisation to claim that all ‘non-native speakers’ have low proficiency which hinders their teaching skills. Furthermore, as early as the 50s it was pointed out that “a teacher is not adequately qualified to teach a language because it is his mother tongue” (UNESCO, 1953, p.69, as quoted in Phillipson, 1992, p. 195). Over six decades later, however, the ELT profession is still battling against the same erroneous belief, which fuels the native speaker fallacy (see 2.2.4.2) and the ideology of native speakerism (see 2.2.2). In fact, overemphasising proficiency conflates being an expert informant with an expert instructor (Henry G. Widdowson, 1994), and diminishes the value of professionalism and pedagogical preparation in ELT (S. J. Hall, 2012; Reis, 2011). As illustrated in this section and in numerous studies, teaching is a complex skill requiring solid pedagogical preparation and practice (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999; Lamb & Wedell, 2013; Nemtchinova, 2005; J. C. Richards, 2010). Hence, it should be emphasised that “teachers are made rather than born” (Phillipson, 1992, p. 14).

Consequently, teachers should be judged based on achievable skills, and any such judgment should aim to avoid essentialist notions of ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’ (see 2.1.5), or the comparative fallacy (see 2.4.2), due to the fact that the particular strengths and weaknesses of the two groups (see 2.4.1) are most likely a result of the education and training they received, and can be overcome by it too. It also needs to be remembered that being a more communicative or a more grammar-oriented teacher is neither necessarily positive nor negative, but will be often dependent on the teaching context. However, while it is true that there are cultural differences in terms of what constitutes effective teaching, the studies presented in this section point to a number of characteristics which an effective English teacher should possess, regardless of cultural differences:

- sufficient language proficiency which will not hinder their teaching performance and which will allow them to function effectively in the target language in class;
- high language awareness to grade the language according to students’ level and needs, give succinct clarifications, predict and solve language problems students might have;
- ability to understand learners’ culture, needs and difficulties and to adjust the teaching approach and materials accordingly;
- being a role model, showing kindness, empathy and encouragement in order to motivate learners;
- ability to critically reflect on their own teaching and to use past teaching experiences to better inform future classroom approach;
- high pedagogical knowledge to be able to plan lessons effectively, select and adapt teaching approach appropriate for a given student(s), appropriately respond to unexpected classroom situations, and to choose assessment methods that are effective and meet students’ and course needs.

Nevertheless, this list should not be treated as exhaustive or true for all settings and cultures. It is crucial that through reflection and understanding their own cultural and educational setting, English teachers discover what techniques and behaviours work, and which do not, in their particular teaching setting.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has illustrated the complex and varied influence that the ideology of native speakerism has had on ELT. Similarly to other ideologies, native speakerism is buttressed by powerful and widespread discourses which make it seem reasonable and scientifically justifiable. First, the ideology is evident in how the terms ‘native’ and a ‘non-native speaker’

have been used in SLA and ELT, creating an idealised image of a linguistically infallible ‘native speaker’. Other discourses that lead to an entrenchment and spread of native speakerism can also be seen in SLA research, a substantial amount of which has used the ‘native speaker’ as an unquestionable benchmark to which all second language acquisition should be compared. In ELT, this ideology is reflected in a widespread belief that ‘native speakers’ are better teachers of English, which leads to discriminatory recruitment policies.

More recently, ELF research has proposed an alternative, more pluricentric view of the English language, which not only acknowledges but also embraces its diversity and that of its users. This research, nevertheless, has met with some scepticism and resistance from both a part of the research community, as well as some students and teachers. Despite this criticism, ELF can be seen as an important breakthrough and a possible way forward beyond the corrosive ideology of native speakerism. Similarly, abandoning research focused on identifying distinct strengths and weaknesses of ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers in favour of investigating what makes an effective language teacher, regardless of their L1, also seems to offer a solution to tackling native speakerism.

In the following chapter, the study proper is discussed. This study aims to investigate native speakerism in language schools in Poland by researching teachers’, students’ and recruiters’ perceptions of some of the main discourses that support the ideology, which have been discussed thus far. More specifically, this project aims to see how the three cohorts understand the concept of ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’, and whether the discourse of SE and the ‘native speaker’ fallacy are present in how these two groups of teachers are perceived. Finally, one of the aims of this research is also to explore which skills students, teachers and recruiters value highly in teachers of English. These objectives are presented in more detail in the following chapter.

3 Chapter Three: Investigating Native Speakerism in Poland: A Mixed Methods Study

In the previous chapter the ideology of native speakerism and the various discourses that support it within SLA and ELT were analysed. In addition, its effects on students', teachers' and recruiters' perceptions of 'native' and 'non-native speakers', as well as of ELF were presented. The discussion in Chapter Two shows that native speakerism and its influence on ELT is a complex and multifaceted problem which would be difficult to investigate only from either constructivist or post-positivist paradigm. This can be seen clearly when the concept of the 'native speaker' is examined, for example (see 2.1). While many researchers, such as Davies (2003, 2012, 2013), following the post-positivist worldview, maintain that it is an objective, neutral and value-free term (see 2.1.1 and 2.1.2), others - such as Holliday (2005, 2013, 2015) - take a more constructivist approach, arguing that the label is precisely the opposite: subjective, ideological and value-laden (see 2.1.5). Consequently, it seems that in order to fully understand native speakerism, both paradigms need to be used.

This can be achieved through a Mixed Methods Research (MMR) approach, which is rooted in the pragmatist worldview. This third paradigm combines the two previously mentioned worldviews, which at first glance might seem irreconcilable. As a result, both the constructivist and post-positivist worldviews are adopted at different points in this study, depending on the RQs posed. The research is set in ELT in Poland in language schools due to the fact that native speakerism remains a practically uncharted issue there.

The chapter is divided into three main sections. It starts with the broader philosophical and theoretical assumptions which underpin the choice of methodology for this project. First, the two main research paradigms which have been utilised to study beliefs about SLA - the constructivist and post-positivist paradigms - are outlined. Then, pragmatism, which has recently been employed with increasing frequency to reconcile the two aforementioned paradigms, is presented as an alternative worldview. The second section begins by defining MMR, and presenting some of its advantages. This is followed by a justification for the choice of MMR for this study. The third section is devoted to a presentation of the study proper. First, the development of and current issues in ELT in Poland are outlined in order to set the context. Then, the research aims together with the rationale are outlined. This is followed by the design, tools and procedures used in this study. Afterwards, the implications of the pilot study on the tools and procedures are described, followed by a discussion of the sampling methods utilised and of the sample. The chapter concludes by summarising data analysis methods, ethical considerations and the limitations of this research.

3.1 Philosophical Perspectives Underpinning MMR

As Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) point out, any MMR project is underpinned by certain philosophical considerations, which although operating at an abstract level, are very important. These considerations are often referred to as worldviews or paradigms, which can be understood as the beliefs or agreements shared by researchers as to how to understand and investigate problems (Devlin & Bokulich, 2015). The philosophical paradigm underlies the ontological assumptions, which influence epistemology, which in turn informs the methodological considerations and choices a researcher makes (Cohen, Manion, Morrison, & Bell, 2011; Friedman, 2011).

Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) list four main worldviews or paradigms (the two terms are used henceforth interchangeably), which differ in terms of their ontology, epistemology and methodology: post-positivism, constructivism, participatory and pragmatism. The first two

worldviews are described in the following section in relation to how they have informed the research on beliefs in SLA and ELT so far. It is shown that up until recently most research in the field exclusively followed either one paradigm or the other. Then, the pragmatist worldview is presented, since it might help reconcile post-positivism and constructivism and inform this MMR study.

3.1.1 Beliefs in SLA and ELT: Post-positivist and Constructivist Paradigms

Since in part this research focuses on students' and teachers' beliefs about SLA and ELT, and on native speakerism more specifically, it is important to briefly outline which paradigms have been adopted by other researchers in this field. It seems that up until very recently most scholars who investigated beliefs in SLA and ELT departed from the post-positivist paradigm. The main assumption which underlies post-positivist studies is that there is a single, objective and knowable reality which research should aim to uncover (Friedman, 2011). Thus, beliefs in SLA have been seen as measurable, independent and unaffected by the socio-cultural context in which they are measured (Dufva, 2003). Freidman (2011) makes similar observations and highlights that even qualitative research in SLA has to a large extent employed the post-positivist paradigm.

Hence, beliefs have been treated "as discrete static entities, separate from other aspects of behaviour and each discrete from the others" (Woods, 2003, p. 201). This is evident, for example in research attempting to properly define the concept of the 'native speaker' (see 2.1.1 and 2.1.2), such as that conducted by Davies (2003, 2012, 2013). It is also reflected in primarily quantitative nature of some studies which attempted to investigate students', teachers' or recruiters' beliefs about 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers (Chun, 2014; Clark & Paran, 2007; Llurda & Huguet, 2003; Mahboob et al., 2004; Moussu, 2006) and ELF (Kaur & Raman, 2014). It must be pointed out, though, that often the post-positivist paradigm and its epistemological implications are not made explicit in the papers. Therefore, it is difficult to know whether the aforementioned researchers chose the particular method based on particular ontological assumptions, or the former were not considered at all.

It seems then that the post-positivist paradigm has a long tradition in research on SLA and ELT beliefs. It has also contributed important insights into the field of native speakerism, especially as far as teachers', students' and recruiters' perceptions of 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers are concerned (see 2.4.1, 2.4.4, 2.4.5). It also has some very clear advantages, such as allowing the researcher to study large groups of people and thus to generalise the findings. Finally, the researcher can also draw on data collection instruments which have been tried and tested for their validity and reliability by previous researchers. This has the advantage of increasing the likelihood of collecting reliable data. Consequently, in this study the post-positivist paradigm is adopted through the use of on-line questionnaires to examine, among other things, participants' perceptions of 'native' and 'non-native speakers' (see 3.3.4.2).

Despite having its proponents and certain epistemological advantages for the researcher, post-positivism has come under some criticism from more constructively oriented scholars in the field. For example, it has been argued (see 2.1.5) that the concept of the 'native speaker' is much more dynamic and can be affected by subjective opinions and ideologies (Holliday, 2013, 2015; Piller, 2002). In addition, it has been shown that beliefs about SLA are socially constructed and can change over time (Kalaja, 1995). In the case of beliefs about ELF and 'non-native speakers' this change over time is clearly seen in studies conducted by Moussu (2002, 2006, 2010), Pacek (2005) or Mullock (2010), where students' initial preference for 'native speaker' teachers diminished proportionally to the time spent with a 'native speaker' teacher (see 2.4.4). This led researchers to propose that beliefs should be seen as dynamic, interactional,

sometimes contradictory, and affected by emotions and the surrounding socio-cultural environment (Kalaja & Barcelos, 2003b). Such ontology calls for a more qualitative approach, which explores fewer participants in much more detail, preferably noting how beliefs are intertwined with the socio-cultural setting. One of the prime examples of adopting this perspective to investigate native speakerism in ELT is Canagarajah (1999b), who uses an ethnographic approach to study learners' resistance to native speakerism in Sri Lanka. More recently, both Holliday (2005) and most of the contributors to Swan, Aboshiha, and Holliday (2015) employ the constructivist paradigm to study native speakerism, while Faez (2011) utilises it to investigate being a 'native speaker', and Sung (2014) to examine attitudes towards ELF.

Beliefs also reflect the features and characteristics of the prevalent discourses in a given society or community (Dufva, 2003). In the previous chapter the discourses - such as the 'native speaker' fallacy - supporting native speakerism in ELT were described (see 2.2.4). It was argued that they influence students' perceptions of ELF (see 2.3.3), and of 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers (see 2.4.4). For example, the fact that most course books focus in their vast majority on SE, results in students' negative perceptions of ELF and non-standard 'native speaker' accents (Jin, 2005). Beliefs also do not exist independently, but are almost always conjured up by someone (e.g., a researcher asking a question) or something (e.g., a particular object) (Dufva, 2003). As a result, in the classroom, teachers' and students' beliefs about SLA are in a constant interrelationship, influencing one another (Barcelos, 2003). For example, both students and teachers prefer SE as the model for learning and teaching (see 2.3.3). However, while it is true that since teachers depart from the position of authority and expertise, their beliefs can exert an influence on those of students (Dufva, 2003); it is also true that learners might resist such influence, pursuing their own agenda (Barcelos, 2003). In the context of native speakerism, this is very well illustrated by Sri Lankan students' resistance to foreign teaching methodology as described by Canagarajah (1999b).

Hence, beliefs can no longer be seen as static, but rather as changeable and heavily influenced by social interactions. In fact, Dufva (2003) highlights that not only do beliefs change over many years (e.g., from adolescent to adult), but they can also vary even in the course of one study, for example due to researchers questions which might prompt the respondent to consider the issue from a different perspective. For example, in Pacek's (2005) study of students' perceptions of 'non-native speaker' teachers, learners were much more positive towards this group at the end of the study, having been taught by a 'non-native speaker' for several weeks. This changeable nature of beliefs about SLA is also evident in studies that managed to change teachers' attitudes towards ELF through teacher training programmes (Bayyurt & Sifakis, 2015a). Thus, one of the key assumptions of constructivism is that "there are multiple perspectives on reality and that the aim of research is to explore and document this diversity" (Friedman, 2011, p. 181).

Taking all this into account, studies presented in Kalaja and Barcelos (2003a) suggest that it might be best to investigate beliefs qualitatively, using case studies, unstructured interviews, ethnographies, observations or diaries. While it is not possible to use all of these methods in this study, the suggestion to use qualitative methods was adopted, and the project includes focus group interviews to investigate which skills and qualities participants view as important in effective teachers, as well as 1-1 interviews to give depth and further explore the data obtained in the quantitative strand of the project (see 3.3.4.1 and 3.3.4.3).

3.1.2 Reconciling Post-positivism and Constructivism: Pragmatist Paradigm

Nevertheless, it would seem that the researcher wishing to investigate beliefs about SLA is left with and must make a choice between two seemingly irreconcilable worldviews, both of which have their clear advantages and disadvantages. First, the post-positivist paradigm is underpinned by a realist ontology, which means that the world is seen in terms of discrete entities and linear causality (Morcol, 2001). Second, the constructivist one views the world in terms of multiple, individual, socially and culturally constructed meanings (Brown, 2014). In other words, the choice between the two must be made since they cannot be held simultaneously due to the fact that they will require different methodological principles and tools (Cohen et al., 2011).

This is contested by Creswell and Plano Clark (2011), who propose that more than one paradigm can be utilised in a research project, especially if it is an MMR study. They further point out that the worldviews can evolve and change during the study, or be connected to separate research steps or objectives. For example, this study starts with focus group interviews (see 3.3.4.1) which by departing from a constructivist bottom-up perspective, aim to explore participants' reality using their own categories of meaning, rather than ones imposed by the researcher. However, the study then adopts a more post-positivist stance and uses quantitative methods with limited variables to check the established hypotheses (see 3.3.4.2); before moving back to a constructivist paradigm again (see 3.3.4.3).

Such a philosophical paradigm which aims to combine constructivism and post-positivism in a single research project has been referred to as pragmatism. The pragmatist paradigm focuses "on the consequences of research, on the primary importance of the question asked rather than the methods. (...) Thus it is pluralistic and oriented towards what works and practice" (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011, p. 41). According to Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2005), the pragmatic worldview should replace methodological puritanism and the incommensurability of the objectivism of post-positivism and the subjectivism of constructivism. This is because there may exist various different versions of reality or truth, some of which will be subjective, while others objective (Cohen et al., 2011). Therefore, MMR where not only the methods are mixed, but also the worldviews, can allow the researcher to corroborate results and arrive at a fuller picture of reality (R. B. Johnson, Onwuegbuzie, & Turner, 2007). By its nature, the pragmatic worldview is eclectic and pluralist, combining different epistemologies to fit the purposes of the research (R. B. Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). However, pragmatism should not be seen as an unprincipled approach where anything goes. To the contrary, it has its own standards which determine research rigour; namely, that the research approach adopted must lead to answering the RQs (Cohen et al., 2011).

This MMR study uses the pragmatist worldview as it seems that it is not only the most commonly adopted worldview in MMR, but primarily because it seems that it can reconcile the post-positivist and constructivist worldviews which are both present in the study informing the choice of methodology at different stages (see 3.3.4). Furthermore, since beliefs have been studied using the two paradigms independently (see 3.1.1) with good results, it seems that combining the two worldviews might lead to reaching a fuller picture of the studied phenomena. In addition, the literature review has shown that more and more researchers who investigate native speakerism use an MMR approach, and thus adopt pragmatism - although this choice is often not made explicit.

While there are various examples of MMR studies in the field, many seem to follow the same pattern. Namely, the initial quantitative questionnaire is supplemented with qualitative methods. For example, Kaypak and Ortactepe (2014), apart from the initial questionnaire, used journals to study Turkish students' attitudes to ELF. Similarly, Pan and Block (2011), Ma

(2012), and Cheung and Braine (2007), who studied learners' and teachers' attitudes towards ELF, teachers' perceptions of the strengths and weaknesses of 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers, and students' perceptions of 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers, respectively; all used follow-up qualitative interviews to supplement the initial quantitative strand. A slightly different approach was taken by Árvai and Medgyes (2000), who analysed video recordings of lessons and interviewed ten teachers. As a result, this project tries to expand on the design of the aforementioned studies, by first using an exploratory qualitative strand, followed by an explanatory quantitative strand, ending with an explanatory qualitative phase (see 3.3.4).

3.2 Research Approach: Definition, Advantages and Justification for MMR

As pointed out above, MMR offers a possibility to reconcile post-positivism and constructivism. It has also been successfully utilised by other researchers to investigate native speakerism and ELF, and hence seems to be an appropriate choice of research paradigm for this project. However, a different research design to that applied in most previous studies is used here, combining exploratory qualitative, explanatory quantitative and explanatory qualitative strands. Before the research design is presented in more detail, though, it is necessary to first define MMR. Secondly, this section outlines the advantages of using this approach, and ends by providing justification for employing MMR in this project.

3.2.1 Definition of MMR

Over the years, various definitions of MMR have been proposed, a historical overview of which is provided by Creswell and Plano Clark (2011). Perhaps the definition that is most commonly used and accepted by the majority of researchers is the one provided by Johnson et al. (2007, p. 129), who define MMR as

[a]n intellectual and practical synthesis based on qualitative and quantitative research; it is the third methodological paradigm (along with qualitative and quantitative research). It recognizes the importance of traditional quantitative and qualitative research but also offers a powerful third paradigm choice that often will provide the most informative, complete, balanced and useful research results.

A similar definition was offered by Tashakkori and Creswell (2007), who see MMR as an approach where in one study or project, data are collected, analysed and interpreted using both quantitative and qualitative methods. Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) emphasise that MMR also involves certain philosophical assumptions which serve as guidance for collection and analysis of MMR data (see 3.1.2).

Finally, Creswell and Plano Clark (2011), Brown (2014) and Creswell (2015) provide a comprehensive list of characteristics which any definition of MMR should incorporate. First, MMR should aim to combine quantitative and qualitative methods so that the weaknesses do not overlap and the strengths are complementary (R. B. Johnson et al., 2007). Furthermore, MMR should combine and borrow from quantitative and qualitative methods appropriately in order to respond to the local socio-cultural exigencies. The quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection and analysis should be employed systematically. This mixing of methods can be done either concurrently, sequentially, or by embedding one method into the other (see 3.3.3). The procedures used should be grounded in a correct philosophical paradigm (see 3.1.2) and follow adequate theoretical lenses. Finally, numerous researchers stress that MMR should only be used if the results it produces might be superior to those which could otherwise be

obtained solely focusing on either qualitative or quantitative method (Brown, 2014; Creswell, 2015; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011).

Johnson et al. (2007) suggest viewing MMR on a continuum ranging from pure qualitative, through qualitative mixed, pure mixed, quantitative mixed and pure quantitative. That is, an MMR project can be a qualitative mixed project if more prominence is given to qualitative methods, or a quantitative mixed if it draws more heavily on quantitative methods. A pure mixed approach relies in equal measure on qualitative and quantitative methods. However, Brown (2014) warns that the fact that a research project does not fall into the pure quantitative or pure qualitative category, does not necessarily make such a project MMR. The quantitative and qualitative methods must be mixed in a systematic and complementary way so that their interaction produces more robust results. Otherwise, such a project would be more appropriately labelled multimethod research (Brown, 2014). To sum up, Creswell (2015) highlights that using MMR does not solely concern gathering qualitative and quantitative data, but its core assumption is that the two strands are appropriately integrated and that the researcher interprets the combined strengths of both data sets in order to gain a deeper understanding of the RQ or problem.

This project attempts to use quantitative and qualitative methods in a manner that complements the strengths and minimises the weaknesses of each of the two approaches. As pointed out above (see 3.1.2), it is rooted in the pragmatist worldview, mixing the post-positivist and constructivist paradigms with the aim of arriving at a fuller picture of the studied phenomena. On the continuum of methods referred to above, it relies more on the quantitative approach, and therefore could be classified as quantitative mixed (see 3.3.4).

Nevertheless, scholars caution that MMR should not be used for its own sake, but rather only if there is a need for a more mixed approach. Consequently, the choice of methodology is justified in the following section, by outlining some of the advantages of MMR, as well as by highlighting how these allow to answer the RQs (see 3.3.2) more fully than if either the qualitative or the quantitative method was used on its own.

3.2.2 Justifying the Use of MMR in this Project

All in all, MMR was chosen for this study as it seems to be the approach which is best suited to investigate a multifaceted problem such as native speakerism (see 2.2.2) from different perspectives. Using either qualitative or quantitative methods on their own may not have been sufficient for this study while “the combination of quantitative and qualitative data provide a more complete understanding of the research problem” (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011, p. 8).

First, Dörnyei (2007) highlights that using an MMR approach has the advantage of minimising some of the inherent shortcomings and maximising the strengths of quantitative and qualitative methods, providing a more comprehensive and deeper understanding of the studied phenomena. For example, the exploratory nature of focus group interviews conducted with a relatively small number of participants would make it difficult to draw any generalised conclusions, while questionnaires might provide breadth, but lack depth in data. Hence, in order to generalise such findings, the qualitative data can be embedded in quantitative questionnaires. This can lead to an enhanced understanding of the problem and of the initial qualitative results (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) also suggest that such an approach helps to systematically measure qualitative data over a much greater number of participants. As a result, in this project the results from the exploratory qualitative strand inform the design of the questionnaire (see 3.3.4.1 and 3.3.4.2), which can allow to confirm whether the initial findings are generalizable to a larger population.

However, one typical problem with using questionnaires is that the results obtained might be too broad or general, lacking in depth (R. B. Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). Furthermore, according to Creswell and Plano Clark (2011), quantitative methods silence the voices of individual participants, imposing certain external categories as selected by the researcher, which might not exactly reflect or correspond to the beliefs of the respondents (Cortazzi & Jin, 1996; Kalaja, 1995). This means that the provided questionnaire items might be interpreted by the respondents very differently to what was originally planned by the researcher (Kalaja & Barcelos, 2003b; Mackey & Gass, 2005), leading to skewed results.

Nonetheless, the negative effect of imposing the researcher's categories of meaning on the respondents through the questionnaire can be minimised in two ways. First, if data are initially gathered using qualitative methods and then used to inform the design of the questionnaire, the formulation of statements is more likely to reflect the respondents' own categories of meaning and beliefs. Second, the initial questionnaire results can be followed by an explanatory qualitative strand, such as follow up interviews, an approach taken in this project (see 3.3.4.3). This addition of qualitative methods both before and after a quantitative strand can add the *emic* perspective - the insider's view - to the data, as opposed to the purely *etic* one - that of an outsider - typical of quantitative studies, allowing to include multiple perspectives and voices (Friedman, 2011). In other words, as Dörnyei (2007, p. 45) observes, qualitative methods can "add depth to the quantitative results [and thus] put the flesh on the bones", helping to uncover a much richer, more complex and detailed picture of the studied phenomenon than a numerical quantitative approach could (Baralt, 2012).

Consequently, quantitative and qualitative methods are used in conjunction, complementing one another to provide a deeper understanding of the problem being studied. In addition to this, triangulation of different sources of information (students, teachers, recruiters) and locations (different schools in different cities) is used to gain a deeper and more varied understanding of the studied phenomenon (see 3.3.4). While MMR is nowadays very often linked to the concept of triangulation, in its original formulation triangulation referred only to a combination of different qualitative methods (e.g., ethnography, or case study), each of which was underpinned by a set of often different epistemological assumptions, and as a result not necessarily easy to combine (Denzin, 1970). Now, however, triangulation also involves combining different methods from both the qualitative and quantitative types (Denzin, 2012). According to Brown (2014), triangulation refers to collecting, obtaining and interpreting data from multiple viewpoints. It is often used by researchers in order to better explain and understand the complexities of human behaviour by investigating it from more than one perspective (Cohen et al., 2011; Denzin, 2012). As a result of studying one problem from a variety of angles, triangulation can make the results more credible and transferable (Mackey & Gass, 2005).

Having presented the philosophical and methodological choices that underpin the design of this project, the context, the RQs, the research design, the sample and the ethical considerations of the study proper are discussed in the following section.

3.3 Investigating Native Speakerism in Poland: the study proper

Native speakerism in ELT is a relatively new research field. While the first voices of concern about the favouritism given to 'native speakers' and to SE in SLA and ELT were initially expressed in the 90s (Braine, 1999b; Firth & Wagner, 1997; Medgyes, 1992, 1994; Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992; Seidlhofer, 1999; Henry G. Widdowson, 1994, 1997), it was not until the following decade that the number of publications started growing and diversifying. In a recent article, Kamhi-Stein (2016) highlights that there have been 356 publications on 'native'

and ‘non-native speaker’ issues in ELT (excluding the publications on ELF, WEs and EIL). Only 14 per cent of these were published in the 90s, while just over a half between 2000 and 2009. However, only in five years between 2010 and 2015, 113 publications have seen the light of day. This shows the growing importance of this strand of research in ELT and SLA. Nevertheless, native speakerism in ELT remains largely unexplored in the Polish context.

As a result, this section first focuses on ELT in Poland, outlining its development and the few studies conducted there which have concerned themselves with native speakerism. Then, the aims of this project and the rationale behind them are presented. This is followed by a discussion of the sample and sampling techniques used. Afterwards, the research design, tools and procedures used to gather data on these aims are outlined, after which the results of the pilot study and its impact on the initial design of the tools are described. Then, the techniques employed for data analysis are summarised. Finally, the last two sections focus on the ethical considerations and the limitations of this study, respectively.

3.3.1 Setting the Stage: ELT in Poland

It is estimated that approximately 50 per cent of Poles are able to speak at least one foreign language, while a fifth declare themselves to be able to speak two (European Commission, 2012). According to the same report, a third of the population in Poland declares themselves able to hold a conversation in English, which is twice as many as those able to speak German or Russian. This is reflected by the percentage of students who learn English in public schools, which both Reichelt (2005) and the Central Statistical Office (Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2012) estimate at 89 per cent. While English is not a compulsory subject in public schools, it is certainly the most commonly chosen foreign language.

Despite this and despite the growing significance of English in education and commerce, Kasztalska (2014) observes that few researchers have investigated the importance and role English plays in Poland. In addition, the literature review conducted for the purposes of this project seems to indicate that there is also an acute lack of empirical studies into how ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers are perceived by students or recruiters, what models are taught and presented in course books, how recruitment in language schools is conducted, what type of training local teachers receive, or how ELF is perceived.

Literature search yielded only two studies. The first was conducted by Cook and referenced in passing in Cook (2000), but unfortunately the full article could not be located. The results cited in Cook (2000), however, showed that 45 per cent of the children studied preferred classes with a ‘native speaker’ teacher, while 25 per cent with a ‘non-native’. The remaining thirty percent had no preference for either group. More recently, Kula (2011) studied 91 high school students’ attitudes towards the two groups of teachers. In short, the results confirmed those obtained by Benke and Medgyes (2005) in Hungary, and Lasagabaster and Sierra (2005) in Spain (see 2.4.4); that is, almost three quarters of the subjects strongly agreed and about a fifth agreed that it did not matter to them where their teacher was from.

Kula’s (2011) results also seem to agree with the findings discussed previously (see 2.3.3) which indicated that students tend to idealise ‘native speakers’ and their pronunciation. For example, while 80 per cent regarded ‘native speakers’ to be better pronunciation teachers, 90 per cent of the learners either agreed or strongly agreed that the pronunciation of their ‘non-native speaker’ teachers was good. In addition, some of the results are indicative of the division of teaching roles between the two groups based on their assumed strengths and weaknesses (see 2.4.1). For example, ‘non-native speaker’ teachers were responsible for teaching grammar, exam preparation and writing, while ‘native speakers’ for conversation classes. This had a clear influence on students’ perceptions of the two groups, since grammar, exam preparation and

writing were mentioned as the strengths of ‘non-native speaker’ teachers, while teaching spoken English as that of ‘native speakers’. This suggests that assigning different classes to ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers based on native speakerist stereotypes can further entrench the ideology in students’ minds (see 2.4.2).

Returning to ELT in Poland, historically speaking, there is quite a long tradition of learning foreign languages in Poland, partly due to the insignificance of Polish as a *lingua franca* (Kasztalska, 2014), and partly due to the country’s troubled history, which has seen its borders being drawn, moved and redrawn on numerous occasions. For a long time Latin and French were the two main foreign languages learnt, and English did not come to replace them until the beginning of the 20th century when the first university degree in English language in the country was established in 1908 in Kraków (Kasztalska, 2014).

However, this was interrupted for almost five decades when after the Second World War Poland passed into the Soviet sphere of influence. From 1948, in primary schools, Russian became the only foreign language taught, while in secondary ones, it became the only obligatory foreign language (Reichelt, 2005). Although in the 1960s a Western language was added as a compulsory subject in high schools and universities, English did not take off again immediately (Reichelt, 2005). Eventually, it did manage to slowly gain hold as it started to be associated with “(idealised) English-speaking West [which] became virtually synonymous with modernization and innovation” (Kasztalska, 2014, p. 246). This possibly could have led to an idealisation of the ‘native speaker’ as a bearer of a superior Western culture and teaching methodology, which lies at the core of native speakerism (see 2.2.2). Therefore, RQs 2, 3 and 5 aim to investigate whether such bias exists among Polish students, teachers or recruiters (see 3.3.2).

According to Reichelt (2005), as Poland moved towards democracy in the 1980s, English slowly became the most prominent Western foreign language in the country. The abolition of Russian as the compulsory foreign language in 1989, and the newly gained access to the West and to democracy, led to an unprecedented boom in English learning and teaching. Now English was introduced to primary schools as a foreign language, and it could also be studied in the quickly expanding private language school sector (Mańczak-Wohlfeld, 2002).

As far as language teachers are concerned, at the fall of communism there were some eighteen thousand teachers of Russian. However, in a decade their numbers fell by almost two thirds, while on the other hand the numbers of English teachers experienced an unprecedented growth from a mere two thousand in 1989 to thirty-six thousand in 2002 (Council of Europe, Language Policy Division & Poland’s Ministry of National Education, n.d.). As Kasztalska (2014) points out, in order to avoid unemployment numerous teachers of Russian were swiftly retrained as English teachers. This might have led to a drop in quality of teaching, as it is unlikely that those former Russian teachers were proficient enough in English to be able to teach it, a problem which is still noted by Council of Europe’s Language Policy Division and Poland’s Ministry of National Education (n.d.). In addition, according to Reichelt (2005) the problem of quality in English teaching is further exasperated by the fact that many young graduates of English Language or Philology turn away from teaching due to its relative low status, and choose a career in business or tourism instead. Thus, it is plausible that those students who experienced poor quality of English teaching from local teachers might have developed negative stereotypes about ‘non-native speaker’ teachers. This is reflected by RQ 2 and RQ 3 (see 3.3.2).

This boom in the learning and teaching of English is also accompanied by quite positive attitudes to the language. These are summed up by Kasztalska (2014, p. 246), who points out that “English has also been regarded as the vehicle of Western popular culture and - as opposed to Russian, closely associated with the hated communist administration - it has allowed Poles to show their solidarity with the modern and free world”. Reichelt (2005) also notes that the

popularity English is enjoying now in Poland is due to the fact it has much more positive associations for the majority of Poles in comparison to German or Russian. Currently, 65 per cent of Poles think that English is the most useful foreign language to learn, in contrast to only 31 per cent who view German in the same way, and 8 per cent who hold this opinion about Russian (European Commission, 2012). In terms of the reasons for learning English, two thirds of Poles say they study it to be able to work abroad, and just under a half to improve their job prospects, which might suggest a rather instrumental and pragmatic reason for learning English (European Commission, 2012). Nevertheless, 70 per cent of Kula's (2011) respondents, who were secondary school students, stated that they learned English because they liked it, which might be indicative of a change of attitude in the younger generations to a more intrinsic motivation.

Interest in English triggered by the fall of Communism does not seem to be showing any signs of decline either. Śliwa (2010) observes that in one decade from 1996 to 2006 the number of people who can speak English doubled. According to Central Statistical Office (2012), the numbers of English learners grew between 2000 and 2010 by 42 per cent, constituting now 89 per cent of all students studying a foreign language. According to the same report 657 600 out of 807 477 university students who were learning a foreign language in 2010 studied English (Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2012). The popularity and dominance of English over other foreign languages in Poland can also be seen in the fact that in 2008, 80 per cent of high school leavers taking *Matura* (the Polish equivalent of A-levels) chose English as the foreign language (Śliwa, 2010). Regarding the type of English students are exposed to, Muchisky (1985) states that British English was the main model taught in schools in the 1980s. This seems to be true some thirty years later. The main reason for the focus on British English might be its geographic proximity. However, nowadays English students in Poland are also exposed to American English (Kasztalska, 2014).

All in all then, ELT in Poland has developed relatively quickly since the fall of communism. However, as stated at the beginning of this section, there seems to be a lack of research in this context concerning native speakerism and ELF. This, along with other factors, serves in the following section to justify the choice of RQs for this project, which are also presented there.

3.3.2 Rationale for and Main Aims of the Study

Much of the research on native speakerism has been conducted either in Asia (Kaur, 2014; Chun, 2014; Geluso, 2013), or Inner Circle countries in an ESL context (Moussu, 2006; Mahboob, 2004; Clark & Paran, 2007; Aboshisha, 2015). The studies in the European EFL context are mainly limited to those concerned with the strengths and weaknesses of 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers (see 2.4.1), as well as students' attitudes to the two groups (see 2.4.4), and have been for the most part conducted in the public sector in Hungary and Spain (Medgyes, 1992, 1994, 2001; Arva & Medgyes, 1994; Lasgabaster and Sierra, 2002, 2005; Llurda, 2004). Hence, there does appear to exist a valid reason for conducting this research project in an EFL setting in the private sector in Poland due to a lack of similar studies.

Furthermore, apart from Clark and Paran's (2007) study of recruitment policies and recruiters' attitudes towards 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers in the UK, literature review did not yield any other studies focusing on ELT recruiters in Europe (see 2.4.3). As far as teachers' perceptions regarding the role of 'native' and 'non-native speakers' in European ELT are concerned, only one study has been found, conducted in primary and secondary schools in Spain (Llurda & Huguët, 2003). It focused, however, on the perceived strengths and weaknesses of the two groups, an approach which was criticised as the comparative fallacy (see 2.4.2). As a result, there is a need to further investigate both teachers' and recruiters' attitudes

towards native speakerism, especially in Poland, where no such research seems to have been conducted to date.

Most studies on native speakerism have also only focused on one of the three groups separately: students, teachers or recruiters. While there is some research that attempts to triangulate the beliefs of two or all three groups (Moussu, 2006; Timmis, 2002), it is relatively uncommon. However, studies show that teachers' beliefs about SLA can influence those of their students (see 3.1.1). Consequently, there is good reason to study the two in conjunction to see whether there are any parallels between them.

Finally, although the concept of the 'native speaker' has been used extensively in SLA and ELT, it has often been done in an idealised manner to denote someone who speaks the language perfectly, is the ultimate goal of SLA, and by definition the ideal model of language use (see 2.1.1). While many applied linguists have investigated and scrutinised the concept (see 2.1.2), showing its racial (see 2.1.4) and ideological (see 2.1.5) connotations, this has usually been done from a theoretical standpoint. On the other hand, there is a lack of research focusing on how students, teachers or recruiters might understand and define who a 'native speaker' is. This is important, as it can influence in turn how these groups perceive 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers. For example, if participants associate being a 'native speaker' with someone who knows their language perfectly, or speaks English without an accent - as some students are prone to (see 2.3.3) - then it is likely that these students will be biased towards being taught by 'native speakers'.

Bearing this in mind, this study aims to investigate how the three cohorts understand and define the concept of a 'native speaker'. It also explores in more depth students', teachers' and recruiters' beliefs about and attitudes towards 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers, and the rationale for these. In addition, the study attempts to identify what skills and qualities the participants value highly in English teachers in general, as an attempt to escape the comparative fallacy (see 2.4.1 and 2.4.2).

To sum up, there are five RQs this project aims to answer:

1. How do students, teachers and recruiters understand and define the term 'native speaker'?
2. To what extent do students, teachers and recruiters exhibit a preference for either 'native' or 'non-native speaker' teachers?
3. What factors influence the preference (or lack thereof) for either 'native' or 'non-native speaker' teachers?
4. What qualities and skills do students, teachers and recruiters find most important in effective English language teachers?
5. How important is being a 'native speaker' in comparison to the qualities and skills students, teachers and recruiters find most important in effective English language teachers?

As specified in the RQs above, the three cohorts that are studied in this research are students, teachers and recruiters. They have been recruited from several language schools in Poland using a variety of sampling techniques. These, as well as the sample sizes, are presented and justified in the next section.

3.3.3 Sampling Techniques and Sample Sizes

As far as MMR is concerned, it is common to use samples of different sizes drawn using different methods (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Teddlie and Yu (2007), and Brown (2014) classify MMR sampling techniques into five types, these being: basic, sequential, concurrent,

multilevel and combined. In this study, a combination of sequential and multilevel sampling techniques was used. These two techniques are described below.

First, sequential sampling refers to a situation when one sample precedes another; and when the first sample influences what the researcher does with the following sample (Cohen et al., 2011). In this study, random stratified sampling was used to select participants for qualitative focus group interviews. This means that participants from different strata (in this case students, teachers and recruiters) are selected randomly. The data gathered here was then used to design a questionnaire which was given to recruiters, teachers and students selected using random stratified sampling. Finally, convenience sampling was utilised to select a subsample of the questionnaire respondents to investigate qualitatively using semi-structured interviews. Convenience sampling is a sampling method whereby participants are recruited based on convenience, for example participants' willingness to participate in the study or their presence in the school at the time of conducting the research.

Second, multilevel sampling technique "involves sampling at different levels within a particular organisation" (Brown, 2014, p. 48). This sampling technique was used following Onwuegbuzie and Leech's (2005) suggestion that it can allow to draw comparisons between different groups. In the case of this study, in all schools participants were drawn from three groups, namely, students, teachers and recruiters. To facilitate the presentation of the data and to ensure clarity and precision, those participants who took part in the focus groups are henceforth referred to as informants, those who completed the questionnaire as respondents, and those who were interviewed as interviewees. The word participant is only used to mean those who participated in all three strands of the study. In addition, when extracts from qualitative data are presented in Chapter Four and discussed in Chapter Five, symbols and numbers in square brackets are utilised to denote who a particular extract comes from, while at the same time maintaining the anonymity of the informants and interviewees (see 3.3.7). Thus, [S1] stands for a student, [R1] for a recruiter, and [T1] for a teacher. To further minimise the possibility of identification, the numbering does not correspond to the order in which the focus groups or follow-up interviews were conducted.

Regarding the sample sizes, 79 informants, 49 (62%) of whom were students, and 30 (38%) who were teachers, took part in focus groups. They came from six language schools spread among five cities in five different administrative regions in Poland. The participating schools were part of British Council, EMPiK and International House chains. There were six focus groups of teacher informants and eight of student informants. No additional background information was collected from them.

Second, 120 respondents agreed to participate in the survey and signed the consent form. However, not all responded to all the questions. For example, 105 answered Q1.1, 27 of whom were teachers, 73 students and 5 recruiters. Nevertheless, only 86 respondents - 57 of whom were students, 24 teachers and 5 recruiters - completed the entire questionnaire. Since background information on these participants was collected at the end of the questionnaire, only the information about the 86 respondents who completed the survey is presented below in Table 1.

Table 1. Background Information About Student, Teacher and Recruiter Respondents

		Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
		No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Gender	Male	13	22.8	7	29.2	3	60
	Female	44	77.2	17	70.8	2	40
Age	18-24	17	29.8	1	4.2	0	0
	25-34	17	29.8	16	66.7	1	20
	35-44	15	26.3	5	20.8	1	20
	45-54	8	14.0	1	4.2	1	20
	55-64	0	0.0	1	4.2	2	40
Perceived linguistic identity	Polish L1	53	93	5	20.8	2	40
	English L1	0	0	11	45.8	1	20
	Other L1	2	3.5	2	8.3	0	0
	Bilingual	2	3.5	3	12.5	0	0
	Multilingual	0	0	1	4.2	1	20
	Other	0	0	2	8.3	1	20
Experience studying, teaching or recruiting	Less than a year	5	8.8	2	8.3	0	0
	1-3 years	16	28.1	7	29.2	1	20
	4-6 years	7	12.3	4	16.7	1	20
	More than 6 years	28	49.1	11	45.8	3	60
Proficiency level	Beginner	2	3.5	1	4.2	0	0
	Elementary	10	17.5	4	16.7	0	0
	Pre-Int	9	15.8	0	0.0	0	0
	Int	15	26.3	4	16.7	0	0
	Upper-Int	17	29.8	3	12.5	0	0
	Adv	3	5.3	2	8.3	3	60
	Proficiency	0	0.0	9	37.5	2	40

First, regarding the respondents' gender, age, and L1, the majority of student ($n=44$, 77.2%) and teacher respondents ($n=17$, 70.8%) were female. It was slightly different as far as recruiter respondents were concerned as three out of five ($n=3$, 60%) were male. With regards to age, almost nine in ten ($n=49$, 86%) of the surveyed students were between eighteen and forty-four. While a similar proportion ($n=22$, 91.7%) of teacher respondents was also under the age of forty-four, only 1 (4.2%) of them was between eighteen and twenty-four years old - as opposed to 17 (29.8%) student respondents. All ($n=5$, 100%) recruiter respondents were older than twenty-five years. As far as the perceived linguistic identity of the respondents is concerned, almost all students ($n=53$, 93%) described themselves as 'native speakers' of Polish. On the other hand, just over a fifth ($n=5$, 20.8%) of the surveyed teachers considered themselves 'native speakers' of Polish, while almost half ($n=11$, 45.8%) as 'native speakers' of English.

Second, as far as experience studying, English, teaching it, and recruiting teachers, almost half ($n=28$, 49.1%) of the student respondents has been studying English for more than six years. A similar proportion ($n=11$, 45.8%) of teacher respondents has been teaching English for over six years. Finally, two thirds ($n=3$, 60%) of the recruiter respondents has been recruiting teachers for over six years. With regards to proficiency levels, there are notable differences between the three cohorts. First, over half ($n=32$, 56.1%) the students responded that they were either on Intermediate or Upper-Intermediate level in English. On the other hand, 45.8 per cent ($n=11$) of teachers and all ($n=5$, 100%) recruiters described themselves as either Advanced or Proficient in a foreign language.

In addition to the background data already presented, the teacher respondents were also asked about the highest teaching qualification they held. These data are shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2. The Highest Teaching Qualification Held by Teacher Respondents

Qualification	No	[%]
CELTA or Trinity Cert	13	54.2
BA in TESOL or related field	3	12.5
DELTA or Trinity Diploma	3	12.5
MA in TESOL or related field	5	20.8
PhD in TESOL or related field	0	0

As far as the qualifications of the surveyed teachers are concerned, CELTA or Trinity Cert were the highest qualification for over half ($n=13$, 54.2%) of them. In contrast, there were only 5 (20.8%) teachers who had an MA in TESOL or related field.

Student respondents were also asked about their main motivation to study English. Their responses are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Student Respondents' Main Motivation for Studying English

Motivation to study English	No	[%]
To improve my job prospects	16	28.1
To emigrate to an English-speaking country	3	5.3
To do my degree in English	2	3.5
To be able to communicate better when travelling	16	28.1
To talk to and to understand 'native speakers'	14	24.6
To communicate with my business partners	2	3.5

There are three responses which were chosen by approximately a quarter of the students. First, the two main reasons for studying English are *to improve my job prospects* and *to be able to communicate better when travelling*, each of which were selected by 28.1 per cent ($n=16$) of students. The second main reason seems to be *to talk to and understand 'native speakers'*, which was chosen by 24.6 per cent ($n=14$) of the students. Each of the remaining three reasons for studying English were only selected by 5 per cent or less ($n \leq 5$) of the students.

Finally, a total of 13 interviewees - 3 (24%) of whom were students, 5 (38%) teachers and five (38%) recruiters - agreed to take part in the semi-structured interviews that followed the questionnaires. All of them had also taken part in the questionnaire. Seven ($n=7$, 54%) interviewees were female, while the remaining 6 (46%) were male.

In the following section, the research design, tools and procedures chosen to collect data on the presented research aims (see 3.3.2) are outlined.

3.3.4 Research Design, Tools and Procedures

Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) define research design as a set of procedures used for gathering, analysis, interpretation and reporting of data. This MMR design utilises a fixed design, whereby the use of the quantitative and qualitative tools in this study is predetermined and planned at the beginning, in contrast to the emergent design, where MMR approach emerges from the findings and issues encountered by the researcher which might need further investigation using other methods. While the latter design certainly offers more flexibility, the former was chosen for this project as it offers a novice researcher a tested framework.

Different researchers in education have over the years developed a different taxonomy and identified various types of MMR designs (Creswell, 2015; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011; Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) provide a comprehensive longitudinal overview of the taxonomy of MMR designs, and conclude that six main types of designs can be identified. A similar list is also given by Creswell (2015). Out of these six, this research utilises two; namely, both exploratory and explanatory sequential designs.

First, the exploratory MMR sequential design consists of two phases: a qualitative one followed by a quantitative one. In this case, the instrument development variant was used. This means that the data from the first exploratory qualitative phase informs the design of the following quantitative instrument (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). According to Creswell (2015), the qualitative data gathered in the exploratory phase can improve the existing quantitative instrument as it becomes grounded in and based on the actual participants' perceptions of reality.

In the second phase of the study, the explanatory MMR sequential design was implemented, whereby follow-up qualitative tools are used in order to explain some of the findings from the quantitative phase (Creswell, 2015). Both Creswell (2015), and Creswell and Plano Clark

(2011) caution that these designs can take longer than for example a convergent design. One of the problems they identify is turning qualitative data into variables that can be tested quantitatively since the former belong to individual participants. On the other hand, the explanatory sequential design poses the problem of which quantitative data need further explanation through qualitative means.

In the two phases of the study, focus groups, questionnaires and semi-structured interviews were utilised to gather data. These tools are presented in the following three subsections.

3.3.4.1 Focus Groups

First, focus groups were used to gather data on RQ 3. All focus groups were asked the same question: *what in your opinion are the most important skills and qualities of an effective English teacher?* The informants were informed about the main aims of the study, and asked to sign a consent form (see Appendix A), which following the ethical considerations (see 3.3.7), also detailed how the data would be handled and how the informants could withdraw their participation. Focus groups are defined as group interviews where “the reliance is on the interaction within the group who discuss a topic supplied by the researcher, yielding a collective rather than an individual view” (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 436). The groups were homogenous (teachers and students were not mixed) and the aim was that they would be comprised of between six and ten informants. Such a design is suggested by Dörnyei (2007), who argues that group homogeneity can lead to better group dynamics, while the number of participants can prevent one single respondent from dominating the whole discussion. Nevertheless, as a result of the pilot study (see 3.3.5) and of having consulted sample sizes with the school directors, it became evident that this number had to be reduced if this stage of the research was to be completed successfully. It proved problematic to gather sufficient informants for all focus groups, as teachers had different and often conflicting schedules, while the students had to be encouraged to either come early before their classes, or stay after them. Consequently, there were two groups of teachers which were only three informants in size, and several groups of students and teachers of between four and five informants.

One of the advantages of focus groups is that to an extent they combine the richness or depth of interviews, with a breadth of more quantitative approaches as they allow for collecting a fairly large sample of data. Furthermore, using informants’ own categories of meaning to inform the construction of the questionnaire might avoid some of the limitations of this instrument. Finally, according to Dörnyei (2007), focus groups can also result in insightful discussions among informants, and thus in gathering high-quality data.

With focus groups of four informants and more, the discussion was divided into two stages. First, in pairs or groups of three, the informants brainstormed the qualities and skills of effective English teachers. This was done in order to give everyone time to gather thoughts and to contribute to the discussion, which is easier in smaller groups. In the second stage, all informants would compare their answers and agree on a final list of seven qualities and skills as a whole group. The number of qualities and skills was limited to seven to avoid a situation where the informants would either provide a very long, or a very short list. The number was also informed by the literature review conducted in Chapter Two (see 2.4.5), which seems to indicate an approximate number of between five and ten skills and qualities of effective teachers that previous research has identified. This stage was audio-recorded using two separate devices, then transcribed and analysed to inform the design of part 3 of the questionnaire (see 3.3.4.2). In groups of fewer than four informants, only the second stage was conducted; that is, the informants immediately discussed the topic as a whole group, and were recorded. In addition, the groups were asked to write down the final list of qualities and skills of effective English

teachers on a piece of paper, which was retrieved by the researcher to be used for data analysis. This was to serve also as a contingency plan in case the recordings failed or were inaudible.

3.3.4.2 Questionnaires

Second, a three-part on-line questionnaire was used to gather quantitative data on all five RQs (see Appendix B and Appendix C). According to Dörnyei (2007) a questionnaire is a written instrument which includes questions or statements to which respondents have to react by selecting one of the existing responses or by writing their own answers. One of the advantages of questionnaire is that they can be distributed to a large number of people, as well as result in numerically presentable data (Cirocki, 2013). Questionnaires have been chosen as they have been observed to provide valuable information about beliefs, preferences and attitudes in SLA (J. C. Richards & Lockhart, 1994). Dörnyei (2007) also points out that Likert-scale type questions are particularly suitable when investigating beliefs, and as a result they were used in part two of the questionnaire. The questionnaire was translated into Polish as researchers point out that participants should be given the opportunity to respond in their L1 (Dörnyei, 2003).

There were also several reasons why an on-line questionnaire was preferred over a paper version delivered face-to-face. While the latter might be more likely to have a higher completion rate, it involves the researcher having to travel to the destination. In contrast, an on-line questionnaire might have a lower response and completion rate; however, it can be easily sent to thousands of respondents, without any additional costs. Furthermore, since mobile devices have become increasingly common, the respondents can fill in the survey anytime and anywhere that is convenient for them. Finally, on-line software for preparing questionnaires, such as Qualtrics, which was used in this project, allows the researcher to prepare visually appealing surveys which work well both on mobile and desktop devices. The collected data can also be very easily exported to a number of different formats to later be analysed using SPSS, Excel or practically any other data analysis software, without the need for the researcher to first code and then manually input the data into the chosen program. This saves a considerable amount of time, which otherwise would have to be spent on transferring the answers, as well as reducing the possibility of human error. Consequently, for the reasons stated above, on-line questionnaires were the preferred choice for this project.

In this study, in order to operationalise the questionnaire, advice given by Cohen et al. (2011) was followed. They suggest that first the objectives of the questionnaire be specified, and then that the subtopics should be identified. As a result, the questionnaire was divided into three parts: part one corresponding to RQ 1, part two to RQs 2 and 3, and part three to RQ 4 and 5 (see 3.3.2). Then the constructs which are relevant to each of the specific research problems were clarified. For example, as far as the definition of a 'native speaker' is concerned, the literature review (see 2.1) yielded constructs such as birthplace, proficiency in the language or race as relevant. Finally, the items which can help measure the specific constructs were itemised. Then the pilot study (see 3.3.5) was conducted in two stages. First, the initial item pool was sent to several experts in the field for feedback, which helped fine-tune the items. Second, the near final version of the questionnaire was piloted with a group of respondents closely resembling the target group.

As a result of the second pilot study, several changes were made to the questionnaire. Appendix B contains the pre-pilot version, that is, the version after the initial pilot, but before the second pilot study. Appendix C on the other hand contains the post-pilot version of the questionnaire, with all the changes from the second pilot study in place (see 3.3.5), which was used for the study proper. It should be clarified that in the on-line version of the survey, in contrast to the paper one presented in Appendix B and Appendix C, certain questions are only shown to students, while others only to recruiters or teachers. Furthermore, some questions are

(not) shown to the respondent depending on their answers to the previous question. For example, Questions 4.8 and 4.9 for students, which ask for more details about their experience with ‘native speaker’ teachers, are only displayed if the student answered ‘Yes’ to question 4.7; that is, if they have previously had classes with a ‘native speaker’. This is done automatically on-line through embedding appropriate logic commands in the survey, so that participants do not see the questions that are skipped. Since it is not possible to do this in a hard copy attached in Appendix A and B, the logic was indicated in writing; for example [STUDENT VERSION] or *If No Is Selected, Then Skip To 4.10*. The consent form was included as the first page both in the on-line and the paper versions of the questionnaire, and can be seen in Appendix B and Appendix C.

Part one of the questionnaire contains five vignettes describing different individuals. The respondents have to decide how far they agree that a given vignette describes a ‘native speaker’ on a 5-point Likert-scale from ‘Definitely Yes’ to ‘Definitely No’. The vignettes were chosen following initial piloting stage (see 3.3.5) as it was thought that participants will be better able to relate to them than to Likert-scale questions. In order to formulate the vignettes, a literature review concerning characteristics of a ‘native speaker’ was first conducted (see 2.1). Four constructs were identified: birthplace, linguistic competence, race and sociolinguistic factors, such as group self-affiliation. The linguistic competence was treated as an independent variable; that is, in all vignettes the described individual was said to be completely proficient in English. This is because many researchers now agree that proficiency alone is not the main factor that differentiates a ‘native’ from a ‘non-native speaker’ (see 2.1.2). Based on these constructs, the vignettes were written.

Part two of the questionnaire consists of 7-point Likert scale questions to investigate RQ 2 and RQ 3. Apart from literature review which informed the selection of the constructs, several items in the questionnaire were adapted from Lasagabaster and Sierra (2005), Moussu (2010), Jin (2005), and Cheung and Braine (2007). Borrowing items from tried and tested questionnaires by other researchers is recommended by Dörnyei (2003), and Mackey and Gass (2005), who agree that it allows not only to save time, but also, and perhaps more importantly, to avoid the pitfalls and difficulties of writing new items, since the borrowed ones will have gone through piloting, and so have been proven to yield statistically valid and reliable data. Interestingly, Cohen et al. (2011) caution that studies on questionnaire design in different disciplines have shown respondents to be biased towards the left-hand side of the scale. This means that the respondents are much more likely to choose answers closer to the left side of the scale, rather than the ones of the right. Consequently, it was important to design the Likert scales in a way that minimises this bias, and hence the 7-point Likert scale used was presented as a drop-down menu, rather than a line. Finally, Dörnyei and Csizer (2011) emphasise the importance of using multilevel scales due to the fact that single items are fallible and unreliable. They recommend that at least four items are used per each construct. This recommendation was followed in the design of part two of the questionnaire.

Finally, Part 3 of the questionnaire was designed using data gathered through focus groups. The seven skills and qualities of effective English teachers identified in the qualitative exploratory phase were placed on a rank order scale. Additionally, being a ‘native’ and a ‘non-native speaker’, as well as speaking English as an L1 and L2, were added to the list to see how important the respondents would find them in comparison to the other seven skills and qualities. Respondents had to place the items on a scale of 0 to 100, with 0 corresponding to ‘Not important at all’, and 100 to ‘Very important’. The choice of close-ended questions was informed by Cohen et al. (2011), who point out that such questions generate responses which are easy to analyse statistically. Nevertheless, they caution that the list of items might not be exhaustive or reflect participants’ actual beliefs. Hence, an attempt to minimise this effect was made not only through informing the items in this part of the questionnaire using the data from

the qualitative exploratory strand (see 3.3.4.1), but also through including ‘Other’ option, whereby the participants could write a quality that was not on the list.

3.3.4.3 Semi-Structured Interviews

Third, follow-up semi-structured interviews were used to gain more qualitative data on all five RQs. Semi-structured interviews lie in-between the two extremes of unstructured and structured interviews. Namely, although the researcher is guided by a group of pre-prepared questions or prompts, they also encourage the interviewee to explore any of the issues raised in more detail (Dörnyei, 2007). The researcher should also not feel bound by the pre-prepared questions, but rather be free to digress or focus on particular issues to probe for more data (Mackey & Gass, 2005). Because of this degree of flexibility that both the interviewees and the interviewer enjoy, semi-structured interviews can result in “unexpected and insightful data” (Mackey & Gass, 2005, p. 93). In addition, follow-up interviews can help illustrate or explain some of the patterns observed in the questionnaire (Dörnyei, 2007).

The interviews were conducted via Skype either in the interviewee’s L1 (Polish) or in English, depending on the interviewee’s individual preference. They were recorded and subsequently transcribed. If the interview was conducted in Polish, it was then translated into English. The interviewees were asked to sign a consent form (see Appendix D).

With regards to the questions asked, the interviews followed the three main parts of the questionnaire. First, questions concerning the definition of a ‘native speaker’ were asked. This was followed by a discussion of the interviewee’s preference for having classes with a ‘native speaker’ teacher, and in the case of recruiters also for hiring ‘native speakers’ only. Subsequently, the reasons for the interviewee’s preferences were explored, following the main themes from the questionnaire. In the last part of the interview, the skills and qualities of effective English teachers were also addressed. The framework that guided the researcher in all the interviews can be seen in Appendix E.

As Loewen and Philip (2011) observe, before the instruments are used for data collection, it is essential to conduct a pilot study. Hence, first the focus group interviews were piloted in order to revise and fine-tune the procedures before the data collection proper. Likewise, the questionnaires were also pilot tested. Consequently, first, the next section will focus on reasons for conducting pilot studies. Then, the results of this pilot and their implications for the design of the tools will be presented.

3.3.5 Pilot Study

Carrying out a pilot study can serve several purposes. First, it gives the researcher an opportunity to rehearse the administration of the instrument (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2011). This can help identify any problems and fine-tune the procedures (Dörnyei, 2003; Friedman, 2011). For example, the researcher needs to ensure that the instructions work with this particular group of people, and that they yield the data the researcher needs (Mackey & Gass, 2005). Second, a pilot study can also provide important feedback about the questions used to elicit data. Dörnyei and Csizér (2011) note with regards to questionnaires that missing responses might be an indicator that instructions for a given section were not understood. In addition, a pilot study can allow the researcher to pinpoint any questions that are poorly worded, ambiguous or irrelevant (Dörnyei, 2003; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2011). For example, according to Dörnyei and Csizér (2011), researchers should avoid questions which generate very uniform responses since they will be difficult to analyse statistically. These can be then either fine-tuned or removed from the final questionnaire or interview. In terms of a questionnaire, piloting can also help finalise

the general layout or appearance, as well as identify the average length of time necessary for completion (Dörnyei, 2003). Finally, the researcher can analyse the data to check internal consistency. For instance, multilevel scales - that is, several questions which test the same construct or concept - need to be coherent (Dörnyei & Csizér, 2011).

Dörnyei (2003), and Dörnyei and Csizér (2011) identify two distinct stages of piloting for a questionnaire. First, the initial piloting stage is usually carried out when the initial item pool is created. This can be done by consulting the items with a small group of people (three to four individuals) who go through the questions and provide feedback. They do not necessarily have to be experts in the field as the researcher might be only interested in the wording and number of the questions or the layout of the questionnaire. However, the researcher can also decide to consult the initial item pool with several experts in the field to gain feedback on the content of the questions themselves, for example. After the initial piloting, it is usually possible to arrive at a near final version of the instrument, which can then be pilot tested with a group similar to the target sample.

Indeed, as far as choosing participants for the pilot study is concerned, researchers frequently emphasise that it is best to conduct the pilot with respondents that closely resemble the target sample studied in the research proper (Dörnyei, 2003; Dörnyei & Csizér, 2011; Loewen & Philip, 2011; Mackey & Gass, 2005). Loewen and Philip (2011) stress that this helps check whether the instrument is reliable, and can provide the researcher with insights as to how the target sample might interact with and respond to a given instrument or question.

In the following part of this section, the main results of the pilot studies of the focus groups and questionnaires, and the implications these results have had on the design of the study proper (see 3.3.4) will be presented. For a detailed discussion of the changes made and the rationale, see Appendix F.

First, the pilot focus group study was conducted in one language school with one group of students. Four main changes were made to the initial design. First, the minimum required number of participants was reduced from six to three as it became apparent that forming groups of six or more in every school might prove problematic (see 3.3.4.1). Second, when appropriate, the researcher decided to prompt the participants by suggesting a number of different traits of effective English teachers based on the literature review (see 2.4.5), stressing, however, that by no means did the participants have to decide on these, and that they were merely some suggestions. Third, it was decided that the instructions be adjusted to remind the participants that the task does not only pertain to character traits, but can also include knowledge and teaching skills. Finally, to improve the loudness of the recording, the recording device was placed closer to the participants.

Second, the pilot study of the questionnaire was conducted in two phases as suggested by Dörnyei (2003), and Dörnyei and Csizér (2011). In the initial piloting stage, once the first pool of items had been created, the questionnaire was sent to several experts in the field for feedback. These included Mahboob, Llurda and Moussu, who were chosen for their substantial contributions to the field, as well as the quantitative orientation of many of their studies. In addition, the researcher also consulted the initial item pool with several colleagues who were all English teachers, but not necessarily experts in questionnaire design or native speakerism. This initial piloting resulted in some important changes to the questionnaire. For example, instead of Likert-scale items in part one of the questionnaire, vignettes were used (see 3.3.4.2). These short stories were thought to capture the reality and the studied phenomenon better than Likert-scale items. Furthermore, it was suggested that the answers be made obligatory, so that the respondents could not progress to the next question, unless the previous was answered. This can reduce the number of unanswered questions. In Part 3, both a 'no opinion' and 'other' boxes were added, where respondents could express a lack of opinion on the topic, and add qualities or skills of effective teachers that were not on the list, respectively. The layout was also changed

to minimise the text on each page and to make it more user-friendly; as a result, in part two, four questions per page are displayed organised by relevant constructs (e.g., ELF; language proficiency). Finally, section titles were included, and the consent form was inserted as a hyperlink, as it was suggested the length of the full consent form displayed on the first page could discourage participants from continuing.

Once these changes have been implemented, the revised questionnaire was prepared (see Appendix B). It was sent to three language schools which had taken part in the qualitative focus group interviews. These particular schools were chosen since their school directors had expressed interest in helping conduct the pilot study. The directors were then asked to email the questionnaires to their teachers and to students.

In total, 24 responses were collected, 8 of which came from teachers, 1 from a recruiter and the remaining 15 from students. However, not all respondents completed the whole survey. There were 15 complete responses to part one of the questionnaire (7 from teachers, 1 from a recruiter and 7 from students), 13 to part two (5 from teachers, 1 recruiter and 7 students) and 12 to part three (5 teachers, 1 recruiter and 5 students).

Three main changes were made following the results of the pilot study. First, to reduce the time needed to complete the questionnaire and to improve internal consistency (Dörnyei, 2003), Q1.6 and Q2.5.1 - 2.5.4 were deleted from the questionnaire. Second, having calculated Cronbach Alpha coefficient (α) to check internal consistency of multilevel scale items, Q2.3.3, 2.3.4, 2.4.3, 2.7.2, 2.7.3 and 2.7.4 were modified. The details of these modifications and the rationale behind them can be found in Appendix F. Finally, in Part 3 of the questionnaire, the 'no opinion' box, which had been added after initial piloting, was deleted. In addition, the introduction to the task in Part 3 was rephrased to: *An effective English teacher is/has...*

Once all these changes were incorporated, the final questionnaire was prepared (see Appendix C). Because some questions from the pre-pilot survey were deleted, the numbering of questions in the post-pilot version might differ slightly. Namely, what was Q2.6 in pre-pilot survey, will be Q2.5 in the post-pilot one.

The pilot study also yielded some interesting results. Although caution needs to be taken when interpreting them due to a very small sample, some of them will be presented here. First, in part one of the questionnaire, which focused on the definition of a 'native speaker', participants had to decide if the vignette referred to a 'native speaker' or not. They could choose answers on a 5-point scale from *Definitely Yes* (5) to *Definitely Not* (1). It seems that having been born in an English-speaking country is one of the most crucial factors defining a 'native speaker'. All respondents ($n=15$) either selected *Probably Yes* or *Definitely Yes* ($M=4.2$) for Vignettes Two, Three, and Six. Neither having lived and been educated abroad (Vignette Two), nor having both or one 'non-native speaker' parents (Vignette Three and Vignette Six, respectively) seems to affect their perceptions. Interestingly, however, the results indicate that the respondents might associate an English-speaking country with the Inner Circle (see 2.1.4) since only 50 per cent of respondents selected *Probably Yes* or *Definitely Yes* for Vignette One ($M=2.9$), which was identical to Vignette Three, save for the fact that the individual described in it was born in India.

Third, as far as qualities and skills of effective teachers are concerned, which were assessed from 0 to 100, all participants ($n=12$) thought that being a 'native speaker' ($M=31.3$), being a 'non-native speaker' ($M=19.4$) and mother tongue ($M=41.2$) were the three least important qualities. On the other hand, the most important quality was knowledge of English ($M=95.4$), which is consistent with the data gathered from the focus groups. It might also indicate that while being a 'native speaker' does not seem to be important, being proficient in the language does play a crucial role in the appraisal of a teacher.

While in this section some data from the pilot was already briefly discussed, before the data collected in the study proper is presented in Chapter Four, it is necessary to first outline the methods which were utilised to analyse the findings. This is the focus of the following section.

3.3.6 Data Analysis

Since the goal of MMR is to combine qualitative and quantitative data in such a way that the weaknesses of the two methods do not overlap, and that their respective strengths complement each other (see 3.2.1), and since qualitative and quantitative methods are validated through different means and nomenclature; the task of validating MMR results is a complex one. For example, quantitative research depends on its validity and reliability; that is, the results need to match its intended purpose of the study (Creswell, 2013), while data collection instruments need to be consistent (Mackey & Gass, 2005). On the other hand, qualitative research needs to maintain dependability and credibility; namely, the context and the relationships between participants need to be described fully, and the findings need to be believable or credible to the research population (Brown, 2014; Creswell, 2013; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011).

Consequently, Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004, p. 21) suggested using the term legitimisation, which could be acceptable both to quantitative and qualitative scholars. Legitimation “is to MMR what *validity* is to quantitative research and *credibility* is to qualitative research” (Brown, 2014, pp. 127–128). According to Brown (2014), when analysing MMR data, it is important to take into account not only how the quantitative and qualitative data strands converge, but also how they diverge. Hence, legitimisation of an MMR study can be corroborated through convergence, divergence, elaboration, clarification, exemplification and interaction. Before proceeding to show how this study attempted to use MMR analysis, the main means of analysing the qualitative and quantitative strands are presented.

3.3.6.1 Qualitative Data Analysis

First, qualitative data were analysed using content analysis, which is defined as “a strict and systematic set of procedures for the rigorous analysis, examination and verification of the contents of written data” (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 583). Most researchers agree that it involves steps such as breaking the text into smaller units, assigning labels or codes to the units, grouping the initial codes into categories, and finally grouping these into themes (Brown, 2014; Cohen et al., 2011; Creswell, 2013; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). However, Dörnyei (2007) highlights that data analysis actually starts at the transcription stage before the actual coding begins, as this is when the researcher commences to immerse themselves in the data. This became evident in this study, for example when transcribing data from the focus groups, possible themes already started emerging. While data analysis proper did not start until all focus group interviews had been conducted, the transcriptions were made after each subsequent focus group, and so with each a fuller picture of the data were emerging, and the researcher could start noticing tentative patterns in the data.

Coding of qualitative data is key to its effective analysis, because the analysis and interpretation will only be as good as the codes themselves (Cohen et al., 2011). Creswell and Plano Clark (2011, p. 208) define coding as “the process of grouping evidence and labelling ideas so that they reflect increasingly broader perspectives”, which is inductive and grounded in data (Mackey & Gass, 2005). This means the codes need to derive from the data too (Cohen et al., 2011). Indeed, most literature identifies three types of coding, usually employed sequentially, which - starting with the initial and broadest one - are initial/open coding, focused/analytic coding and axial/thematic coding. Open coding refers simply to the process of

assigning any new label to a text, and is usually descriptive. Analytic coding goes one step beyond the descriptive level and aims to assign the initial codes into categories. Finally, thematic coding, seeks to organise the codes into more abstract themes that can be seen emerging from the data (Creswell, 2013).

However, both qualitative research and its data analysis are iterative, or non-linear. That is, although the researcher usually follows the sequence of the three coding steps outlined above, they will go through the data sets more than once, revisiting and modifying earlier codes or groupings as new insights emerge, taking into account multiple perspectives, or data from varying viewpoints of different individuals as evidence to support the assignment of a theme (Brown, 2014; Cohen et al., 2011; Creswell, 2013).

Having discussed how the process of qualitative data analysis used in this study, the next section presents the methods utilised to analyse the quantitative findings.

3.3.6.2 Quantitative Data Analysis

A typical first step when analysing quantitative data is to calculate Cronbach Alpha coefficient (α) in order to check the internal consistency of multilevel scale items (Dörnyei, 2003). This was carried out both for the pilot (see 3.3.5) and the study proper. Next, descriptive statistics were used to calculate the number of responses for a given question, and the mean (M). Standard Deviation (SD) was also calculated. This was followed by an analysis using non-parametric statistical tests. The choice of non-parametric tests was motivated by the fact that Likert scales produce ordinal variables, and as a result should not be treated with parametric tests, despite the fact that these are widely applied in social sciences. Specifically, to determine whether there were significant differences between the cohorts, Kruskal-Wallis H test was utilised. To check which of the three groups differed significantly, Tamhane's T2 test was utilised. Results are reported as significant for p values greater than 0.05.

In order to calculate correlations between variables, Spearman correlation test was used. Even though Pearson correlation coefficient is widely applied in social sciences to calculate the correlation between ordinal variables, such as Likert Scale items, it should be only used for interval or ratio variables. Consequently, this research only employed Spearman's correlation (ρ).

3.3.6.3 MMR Data Analysis

As this study is based on a sequential MMR design (see 3.3.4), it needs to use appropriate strategies for connecting the qualitative and quantitative strands of data. Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) call this connected mixed methods data analysis since both data sets are connected to each other. Analysing the qualitative data in the exploratory sequential strand should involve looking for themes and codes which can be used to specify the content of the quantitative strand (see 3.3.4.1 and 3.3.4.2). The researcher can then compare the results from the two strands to see if the data converges or diverges, and how far the results of the qualitative strand can be generalised to a larger sample.

On the other hand, in an explanatory sequential design used in the second phase of the project, it is important to consider which quantitative data should be chosen for further qualitative analysis. As a result, researchers suggest purposive sampling (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). However, this is not always possible and can be difficult for practical reasons as participants need to voluntarily agree to take part in the explanatory qualitative strand. Hence, convenience sampling was chosen instead (see 3.3.3).

When recruiting participants, voluntary consent is one of the key ethical issues that a researcher needs to take into account. In addition, there are numerous other considerations, such as anonymity, which need to be carefully considered at different stages of research for it to be ethical. These considerations are described in the following section.

3.3.7 Ethical Issues

Cohen et al. (2011) emphasise that ethical considerations are of paramount importance during the whole course of the research, and so should accordingly inform the planning stage, obtaining permission from administration to conduct research in a given school, obtaining voluntary informed consent from participants, carrying out the study, analysing the data and presenting it in the thesis. Participants in a study have several rights which an ethically conducted project must not violate. These rights are anonymity; being informed about the purpose of the study, their roles in it and how the results will be used; and voluntary consent to participate which can be withdrawn (Creswell, 2013). In the following paragraphs, these rights will be outlined, highlighting how they were incorporated in this research project.

This study maintained the anonymity of the participants throughout in accordance with BERA (2011) ethical guidelines. This is vital in case of teachers as failure to do so could have implications for their future careers in terms of assignment of classes or future promotions, for example (Mackey & Gass, 2005). On the other hand, if students are identified, this could influence how they are perceived by their teachers, and thus possibly impact their grades negatively (Mackey & Gass, 2005). Hence, anonymous on-line questionnaires were used in the quantitative strand.

As far as the qualitative strand of the research is concerned, the data analysis “raises the question of identifiability, confidentiality and privacy of individuals” (Cohen et al., 2011, p. 542). Unlike quantitative data, which when turned into numbers, makes identification of individual participants very difficult, qualitative data requires a thick description, which might compromise the anonymity of the participants. As a result, symbols and numbers only were used when presenting extracts from the qualitative data. In addition, the transcribed data were shown to the interviewees to obtain their validation and clearance. This also allowed them to comment on anything they thought misrepresented what they had said in the interview.

Another important ethical consideration is obtaining an informed and voluntary consent from the participants. This involves ensuring that the respondents understand the purpose of the research and what will be required of them, as well as what their rights will be during the course of the study (Brown, 2014). According to Cohen, et al. (2011), informed consent protects respondents’ freedom of choice and individuality, and is underpinned by competence, voluntarism, full information and comprehension. Thus, the participants need to have the competence to give their consent, they need to do so of their own free will, having been provided with and understood the full information about the aims of the study. Cohen, et al. (2011) stress that it is essential that the participants are really taking the decision to participate voluntarily, rather than because they have been coerced by the school principal, or do not want to offend the researcher by seeming unhelpful. As a result, it was ensured that participants were given real freedom of choice with no negative consequences for declining, and that they are aware of and understood this. Following Mackey and Gass’ (2005) suggestion, the informed consent forms for students were translated into Polish in order to ensure that the participants really understood what they were signing.

Dörnyei (2003) believes that the absolute minimum requirement is providing the participants with true information about the extent to which their responses will remain confidential, as well as how the data will be used. Consequently, this was included in the

consent form given to the participants, which was based on a template available through University of York website, as well as the checklist suggested by Mackey and Gass (2005). While in general full disclosure of the aims of the study is the norm, Mackey and Gass (2005) highlight that in some cases partial disclosure might be acceptable in order to for example avoid influencing participants' answers. Thus, it was decided in this study that all the research objectives not be revealed to the participants in detail, but rather that they should be provided with more general aims, such as this study is about your perceptions of 'native speaker' teachers and 'non-native speaker' teachers.

Additionally, the questionnaires were delivered in schools using the same standard procedures ensuring as little variation in the process as possible (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Finally, Cohen, et al. (2011) highlight that it is important to first obtain permission to conduct research in a given institution. As a result, school directors were first contacted, informed about the aims of the study and asked if they would give their permission to carry out the study in their institution.

3.3.8 Limitations of the Study

There are several limitations of this project. First, this study is limited as far as its sampling scope is concerned. Since it was only conducted in several language schools in Poland on a rather limited number of participants, caution needs to be taken when generalising the findings. In addition, the choice of schools from three big language school chains might also have introduced some bias to the data. Hence, future studies could attempt to investigate native speakerism in universities, public schools or independent language schools to see whether they would corroborate the data from this study. Finally, since the interviewees were drawn using convenience sampling, and since the vast majority of the teacher interviewees were 'native speakers', it is possible that the data from the interviews represents a skewed sample of the quantitative data. As a result, caution needs to be taken when interpreting and comparing the quantitative and qualitative findings.

Another limitation of the study is that focus groups were only used to inform one part (part three) of the questionnaire. As a result, it is possible that the questions used in parts one and part two did not correspond fully to the participants' conception of reality, and/or that they reflected the researcher's bias. However, follow-up interviews were used to help minimise this effect. In addition, the questions used in part one and part two have been designed after extensive literature review carried out in Chapter Two.

Moreover, this research project does not attempt to measure whether there are changes in participants' beliefs over time, dependent for example on the type of classes, instruction, or the teacher that the students have. Some studies have shown that exposure to effective 'non-native speaker' teachers can have a positive influence on students' perceptions of these teachers at the end of the academic year (Moussu, 2006, 2010). Hence, it would be interesting to examine whether this is the case in an EFL setting in Poland too. However, past exposure to 'native speaker' teachers and 'non-native speaker' teachers was accounted for in the questionnaires, and so some inferences about how it influences students' perceptions can be drawn.

Fourthly, many researchers recommend beliefs about SLA or ELT be studied in a wider socio-cultural context (Kalaja & Barcelos, 2003a). Hence, examining how and if EFL course books in Poland and teacher training courses address the issue of native speakerism could add more depth to the data and presumably help account for certain results obtained. For example, Matsuda (2002) showed that EFL course books in Japan rely heavily on British and US models, which influences students' perceptions of who the ideal teacher of English should be (see 2.3.3). Furthermore, bearing the native speakerist slant in ELT methodology and teacher training

reported in the literature (Ferguson & Donno, 2003; Kiczkowiak et al., 2016; Kumaravadivelu, 2016), teachers' beliefs might be influenced by their pedagogical training. The ubiquitous language school advertisements which use having 'native speaker' teachers as their unique selling point can also have an effect on how students perceive the two groups (see 2.4.4). As a result, it is recommended that future studies examine whether and how the social, cultural and educational context in Poland can impact beliefs that students, teachers and recruiters hold.

Furthermore, the relationship between beliefs and actions remains unclear. Hence, it is difficult to judge whether the participants in this study would actually act upon their beliefs. For example, if a teacher believes ELF should feature more prominently in ELT, will they introduce it to their classes and talk to their students about it? On the other hand, if a student believes that 'native speakers' make the best teachers, will they act differently in class with a 'native' and with a 'non-native speaker' teacher, and will they choose the school based on this belief? To counter this limitation, questions addressing this issue have been provided in the questionnaire for students (see Appendix B). For example, students are asked whether they check if a school employs 'native speakers', before they choose to enrol there. Nevertheless, the answers to those questions might not necessarily be transferable to actions in the real world. Consequently, future studies could utilise classroom observations to explore whether and how students and teachers act upon their beliefs.

Finally, since there is evidence that beliefs are not fixed, but temporary and changeable (Dufva, 2003; Kalaja & Barcelos, 2003b), an intervention program could be designed based on the results of this study in order to see whether and how it might impact participants' beliefs. For example, during professional development and teacher training programmes, teachers could be exposed to and discuss issues related to native speakerism to gain a better understanding of the problem (Bayyurt & Sifakis, 2015a; Dewey, 2012; Kiczkowiak et al., 2016). Furthermore, teachers could be encouraged to prepare activities or lesson plans that would critically explore native speakerism and ELF with students in class (Kiczkowiak, 2017). Having conducted these activities, the researchers could measure whether any change in teachers' or students' beliefs has occurred and whether this change can be attributed to the activities carried out.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter has presented MMR design and discussed how and why it has been applied in this project. It started by discussing the two main philosophical paradigms which underpin most research, namely, the constructivist and the post-positivist worldviews. For a long time, these two paradigms have been seen as incommensurable. However, recently a third paradigm of pragmatism has emerged. This worldview informs this MMR project as it allows to combine constructivism and post-positivism. Then, the advantages of MMR were presented and the choice of methodology was justified. The following sections focused on the context of the study by outlining ELT profession in Poland, and on presenting the five RQs. Afterwards, the sampling techniques and the research tools and design were described. The chapter ended by outlining the impact of the pilot study on the research tools, presenting the techniques used for analysing data, and finally by looking at the ethical considerations and the limitations of this study.

4 Chapter Four: Results

In this chapter the data collected during this study are presented and analysed. Since this project uses an MMR approach (see 3.2), both quantitative and qualitative tools were utilised to gather data on each of the five RQs. In addition, the data were gathered from three distinct groups of participants, namely teachers, students and recruiters (see 3.3.3). Consequently, for reasons of clarity, and to highlight how the data from quantitative and qualitative strands complements each other, it seems appropriate to divide this chapter into five sections, each of which corresponds to individual RQs.

Hence, the chapter is organised as follows. First, data on participants' definitions of a 'native speaker' are presented (RQ 1). This is followed by results on the participants' attitudes to and preference for 'native speaker' teachers (RQ 2). Next, the reasons the three cohorts give for their preference for one or the other group of teachers are shown (RQ 3). The following section focuses on the qualities and skills of effective English teachers as identified by the three groups of participants (RQ 4). Finally, the importance of these skills and qualities is compared to the importance of being a 'native speaker' (RQ 5).

4.1 Defining the Native Speaker

To answer RQ 1, both quantitative and qualitative tools were used (see 3.3.4) in the form of online questionnaires and semi-structured interviews, respectively. This section is divided into five parts, each of which corresponds to one of the five vignettes in the questionnaire. The quantitative data in each of the five parts is supported by the findings from the qualitative semi-structured interviews.

4.1.1 Native Speakers and Outer Circle Countries

Vignette One aimed to probe the idea that 'native speakers' only come from the Inner Circle countries (see 2.1.4). The Vignette reads as follows: *I was born and have lived all my life in India. I did all my education, including university, in English. At home we never use English, but outside home I use English every day. I am completely proficient in English. Am I a native speaker of English?*

As can be seen in Table 4 and Figure 3 below, there is a fairly equal distribution between the respondents who agree that Vignette One describes a 'native speaker', and the respondents who think it does not, with slightly more responses for the latter option.

Table 4. The Native Speaker Status of Outer Circle Users of English

	Responses					
	Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Definitely Yes	6	8.2	5	18.5	0	0
Probably Yes	23	31.5	8	29.6	3	60
Undecided	2	2.7	3	11.1	1	20
Probably Not	26	35.6	7	25.9	1	20
Definitely Not	16	21.9	4	14.8	0	0

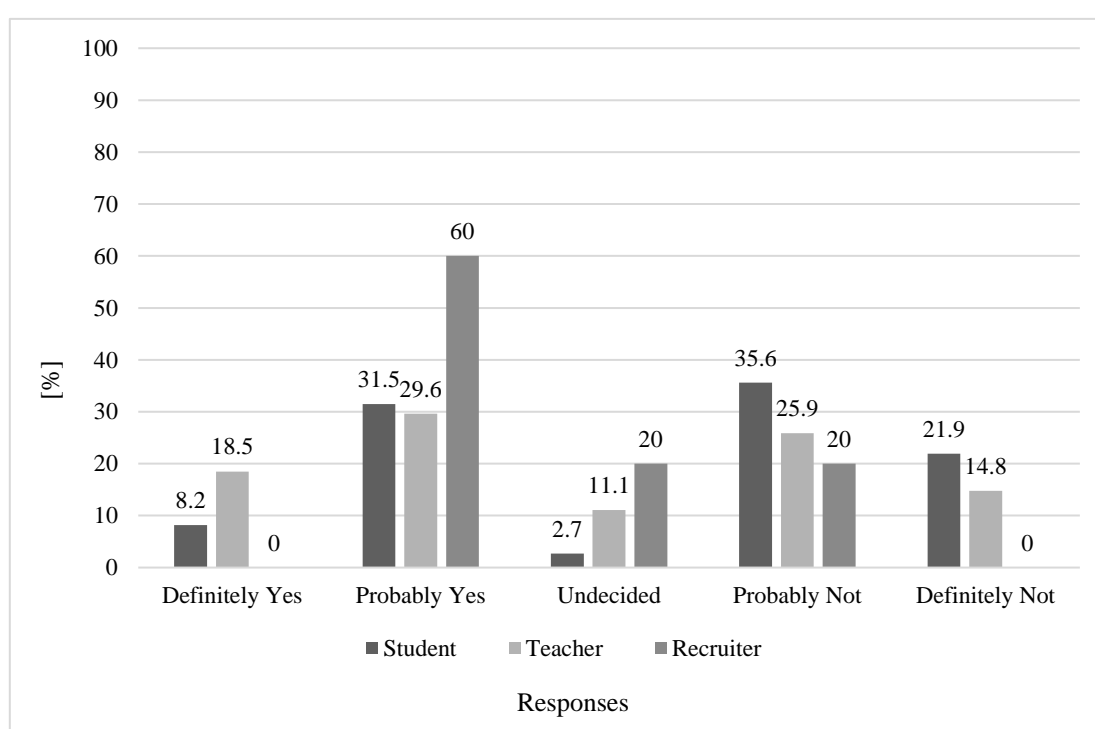


Figure 3. The Native Speaker Status of Outer Circle Users of English

The data in Table 4 and Figure 3 show that the responses of the three cohorts are similar. Indeed, Kruskal-Wallis test ($\chi^2(2)=4.316$, $p=0.116$) indicate that there is no significant difference between the three groups. First, 39.7 per cent ($n=29$) of students answered *Definitely Yes* or *Probably Yes*, while just over a half ($n=42$, 57.5%) *Probably Not* or *Definitely Not*, with only 2.7 per cent ($n=2$) remaining undecided. Both in the case of Yes and Not answers, there were more respondents who opted for *Probably Yes/Not*, rather than *Definitely Yes/Not*. Likewise, approximately half of the surveyed teachers ($n=13$, 51.1%) thought that Vignette One described a ‘native speaker’, while 40.7 per cent ($n=11$) disagreed. Similarly to students, more teachers chose *Probably Yes* ($n=8$, 29.6%) and *Probably Not* ($n=7$, 25.9%) than *Definitely Yes* ($n=5$, 18.5%) and *Definitely Not* ($n=4$, 14.8%). Finally, three out of five surveyed recruiters ($n=3$; 60%) responded *Probably Yes*. One recruiter ($n=1$, 20%) was undecided, while one chose *Probably Not* ($n=1$, 20%).

The quantitative data presented above might suggest that the participants are not sure whether a person born in an Outer Circle country, such as India, could be considered a ‘native

speaker'. This is in line with the literature (see 2.1.4), and is examined further via the qualitative data below. First, there was only one teacher interviewee who thought that someone from an Outer Circle country should be considered a 'native speaker':

I also definitely think that there are 'native speakers' of English in the former British colonies like Zimbabwe or India, for example. And I can speak from experience, because I know a few teachers from these countries. So, what they say is that they've spoken English their whole life and it's their native language. But when you look at job ads in Asia, for example, then a 'native speaker' is only someone from Australia, New Zealand, the UK, Canada, the US, Ireland, you know. [T2]

In contrast, the other interviewees who discussed this theme all associated being a 'native speaker' with Inner Circle countries:

I think that someone born for example in India or Kenia cannot be called a 'native speaker', unless they've got an incredible flair for languages. This person won't have the appropriate accent, even if grammatically speaking or when it comes to vocabulary, or fluency in that language, they will be fine. [S1]

India is kind of an interesting case there because, having been there myself, English is kind of a universal second language, a lingua franca between the different regions; but it's highly likely that at home they speak whatever regional language they speak. I'd probably conclude that in that sort of context, when they speak English outside the home, but not at home, probably just about doesn't qualify as a 'native speaker', which sounds harsh. [T1]

I also think that the term 'native speaker' refers to someone from Britain or the US, although there are some nuances here. For example, there are people from English-speaking countries in Asia, for example, but they are not your classic 'native speakers'. [R1]

English is a second language there [in India] so they weren't weaned on it, so to say. Perhaps they learned it in kindergarten from the age of two or three, but nevertheless it is not their first language that created the neurological connections in the brain. [R1]

Conventionally, in our school a 'native speaker' is someone from the US or England. [R1]

By custom you'd say that a 'native speaker' is someone born in let's say England, just as a Pole is a 'native speaker' of Polish or a Spaniard a 'native speaker' of Spanish. [R3]

The data presented in this section indicate that both the respondents and the interviewees might not consider someone from India or another Outer Circle country a 'native speaker'. This is despite the fact that in many Outer Circle countries education starting even at primary level is conducted in English. Consequently, the next section focuses on education and upbringing in a given language as possible characteristics of a 'native speaker'.

4.1.2 Importance of Upbringing and Education

Having looked at the issue of the status of Outer Circle users of English, Vignette Two probed whether participants thought upbringing and education in the first language were necessary to be considered a 'native speaker'. Vignette Two reads as follows: *I was born in an English-speaking country to English-speaking parents, but I have lived all my life in a non-English speaking country. I did all my education, including university, in a language other than English. At home we use English every day, but outside home only sometimes. I am completely proficient in English. Am I a native English speaker?* The responses from the questionnaire are presented in Table 5 and Figure 4 below.

Table 5. The Importance of Upbringing and Education for Being Considered a Native Speaker

	Responses					
	Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Definitely Yes	9	12.5	12	46.2	0	0
Probably Yes	31	43.1	8	30.8	4	80
Undecided	7	9.7	1	3.8	0	0
Probably Not	12	16.7	1	3.8	1	20
Definitely Not	13	18.1	4	15.4	0	0

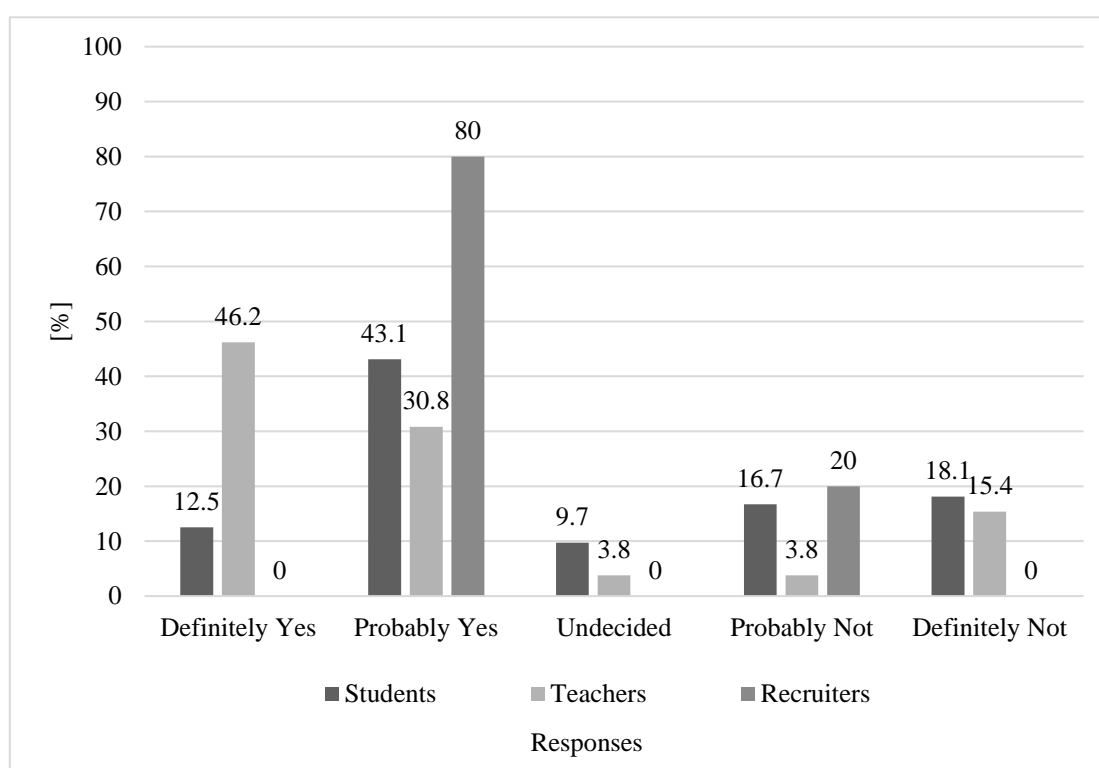


Figure 4. The Importance of Upbringing and Education for Being Considered a Native Speaker

Overall, most respondents in each group agreed that Vignette Two described a ‘native speaker’. However, the agreement was the strongest for recruiter respondents, with four out of five ($n=4$, 80%) answering *Probably Yes* but none ($n=0$; 0%) *Definitely Yes*, and teacher respondents, eight of whom ($n=8$, 30.8%) answered *Probably Yes* and twelve ($n=12$, 46.2%) *Definitely Yes*. While the overall agreement was also high among students ($n=40$, 55.6%), only just over a tenth (12.5%, $n=9$) responded *Definitely Yes*. Kruskal-Wallis test indicated that the differences between the three groups are significant ($\chi^2(2)=7.913$, $p=0.019$). Tamhane’s T2 test shows that there is a significant difference between student and teacher respondents ($p=0.01$). In sum, this might mean that the student respondents are less likely than the teacher respondents to consider a ‘native speaker’ someone born in an English-speaking country to English-speaking parents, but who has lived most of their life in a non-English-speaking country.

Nevertheless, on the whole, such individuals might be more likely to be considered ‘native speakers’, even if they were brought up and educated in a language rather than English, than

those who completed their education in English but were born in India (see 4.1.1). These findings are supported by these comments from two teacher interviewees, who mentioned that growing up speaking the language with parents, despite living in a non-English-speaking country, was enough for them to consider someone a ‘native speaker’:

I'd also consider someone who grew up speaking it with their family in a non-English-speaking country a 'native speaker'. [T4]

But I think I'd consider this person [from Vignette Two] a 'native speaker' too. Not just a person who is inserted in the 'native speaker' community, but also someone whose parents are 'native' and who spoke English from the very beginning. [T2]

However, one student interviewee shed some doubt on this by pointing out that a ‘native speaker’ can lose the proficiency in their mother tongue after a prolonged stay abroad:

For example, I have a cousin who lives in Germany. Both of his parents are Polish and all the time at home he was spoken to in Polish. So, when he went to school, he didn't speak much German. And now after a long time he really speaks Polish pretty bad. He barely communicates. He understands what's said to him, but it's difficult for him to answer in Polish, and he also uses very simple vocabulary. [S1]

In addition, one teacher interviewee highlighted that it could be difficult in this case to define whether this person is indeed a ‘native speaker’:

It can be a bit confusing to decide sometimes whether someone is a 'native speaker', especially if they were born in a country where the official language is not English, for example, but then their parents are 'native speakers'. So, then that person grew up speaking English at home, but another language outside with the community. [T2]

Finally, one recruiter mentioned that a ‘native speaker’ “*is a person that teaches a language which is their mother tongue*” [R1]. This however necessitates a definition of mother tongue. It also poses the question of whether someone who did not acquire English as their mother tongue at home with their parents, but did learn it outside while living in an English-speaking country, should be considered a ‘native speaker’. This question is addressed in the following section.

4.1.3 Parents’ L1 and the Language Used at Home

Vignette Three focused on whether participants’ considered parents’ first language as an important factor in defining who a ‘native speaker’ is. This Vignette reads as follows: *I was born and have lived all my life in an English-speaking country, but my parents come from a non-English speaking country. I did my education, including university in English. At home we never use English, but outside home I use English every day. I am completely proficient in English. Am I a native English speaker?* The results of the quantitative strand are presented in Table 6 and Figure 5 below.

Table 6. Parents' L1 and the Language Used at Home as Characteristics of a Native Speaker

	Responses					
	Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Definitely Yes	21	29.6	15	57.7	4	80
Probably Yes	32	45.1	8	30.8	1	20
Undecided	7	9.9	1	3.8	0	0
Probably Not	5	7.0	1	3.8	0	0
Definitely Not	6	8.5	1	3.8	0	0

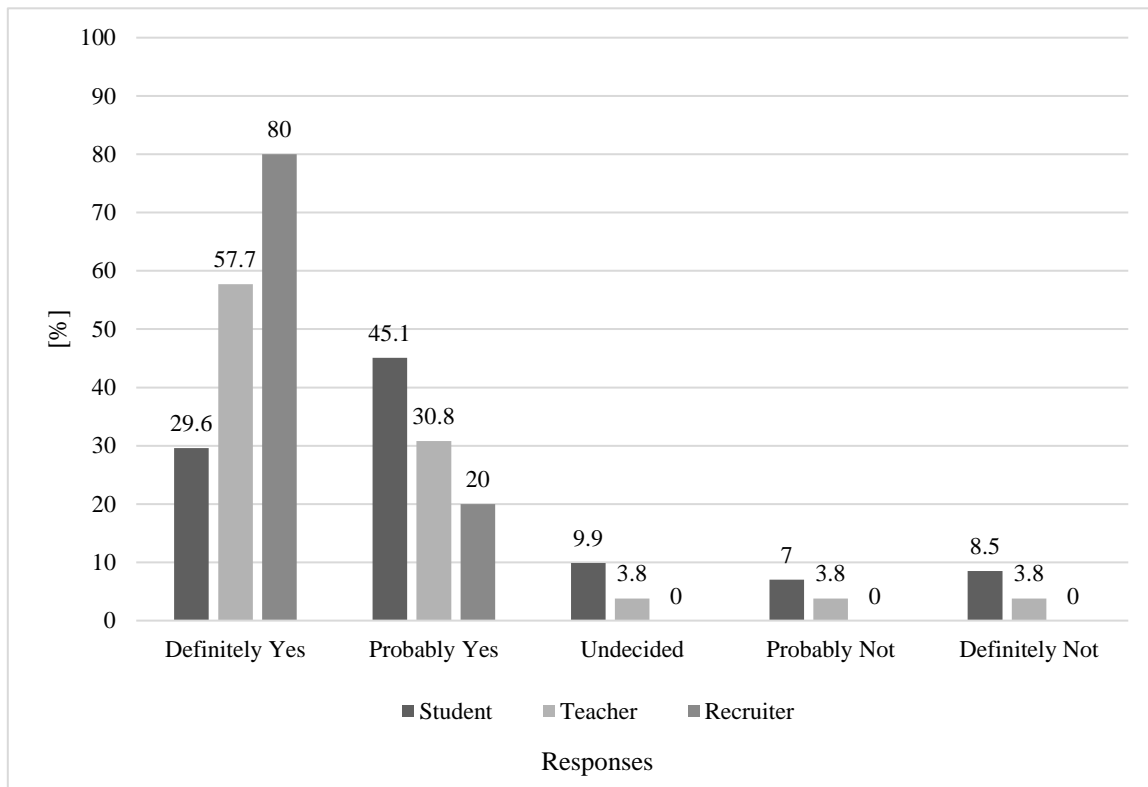


Figure 5. Parents' L1 and the Language Used at Home as Characteristics of a Native Speaker

Overall, the majority of respondents agreed that Vignette Three referred to a 'native speaker'. The agreement was the strongest among recruiters, all of whom responded *Probably Yes* or *Definitely Yes*, with 80 per cent ($n=4$) answering the latter. Likewise, 88.5 per cent ($n=23$) of teacher respondents agreed that Vignette Three described a 'native speaker', with over a half ($n=15$, 57.7%) answering *Definitely Yes*. While the vast majority of student respondents also agreed ($n=53$, 74.7%), this agreement was somewhat weaker than in the other groups with twenty-one ($n=21$, 29.6%) *Definitely Yes* answers. Kruskal-Wallis ($\chi^2(2)=14.178$, $p=0.001$) test showed that there was a statistically significant difference between the three cohorts. When Tamhane's T2 test was performed, the results indicated that the difference between teachers' and students' responses was statistically significant ($p=0.031$). This might mean that student

respondents are less likely than the teacher respondents to consider the individual described in Vignette Three a ‘native speaker’.

Moreover, these results indicate, similarly to those from Vignette Two (see 4.1.2) that the country of birth is a very important factor. This means that someone who has been born in an English-speaking country is very likely to be considered a ‘native speaker’ despite not using English at home as their first language. The importance of having been born and educated in a given language to be considered a ‘native speaker’ is also evident in this comment made by a student and teacher interviewees:

It’s quite obvious for me that a ‘native speaker’ is someone who was born and who completed their education in that language, and who is teaching that language. I also think that the mother tongue for this person is the language mostly spoken in that country, the official language, in which the person studied. [S2]

My version of a ‘native speaker’ is someone who grew up in a country where it’s the most spoken language. [T4]

However, in some cases - similarly to the one described in Vignette Two - it is more difficult to define who a ‘native speaker’ is, and it is also true that not all people born in a ‘native-speaking’ country use English on a daily basis:

For me a ‘native speaker’ is someone who was brought up in a given culture. But there are of course more complicated examples, for example someone living in England whose both parents are foreigners [not English]. [S1]

A lot of people in England and America don’t necessarily speak English on a day-to-day basis. They do in school, but not necessarily at home or with their friends. [T4]

Using English on a daily basis, however, was pivotal for another teacher in defining who a ‘native speaker’ was:

A ‘native speaker’ is a person for whom the majority of their education, social life, and I’ll probably add media consumption as well, takes place in English. The majority, or at least equal with the second language they speak. [T1]

The last definition might suggest that someone born in a non-English-speaking country could also be considered a ‘native speaker’ if the majority of their linguistic life is conducted in English. This proposition is explored further in the following section.

4.1.4 Can a Non-Native Speaker Become a Native Speaker?

In Vignette Four a profile of a typical ‘non-native speaker’ was presented, This individual, however, completed their MA degree in English, and now lives and works in an English-speaking country, using English more often than their L1. Vignette Four reads as follows: *I was born in a non-English speaking country to non-English speaking parents. When I was an adult I moved to an English-speaking country and did my MA in English there. I now live and work in an English-speaking country. I use English almost all the time both at home and outside. I actually use my mother tongue less often than English. I am completely proficient in English. Am I a native English speaker?* Table 7 and Figure 6 below illustrate the responses to this Vignette.

Table 7. Becoming a Native Speaker in Adulthood

	Responses					
	Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Definitely Yes	4	6.1	1	3.8	0	0
Probably Yes	17	25.8	6	23.1	1	20
Undecided	5	7.6	3	11.5	1	20
Probably Not	20	30.3	10	38.5	2	40
Definitely Not	20	30.3	6	23.1	1	20

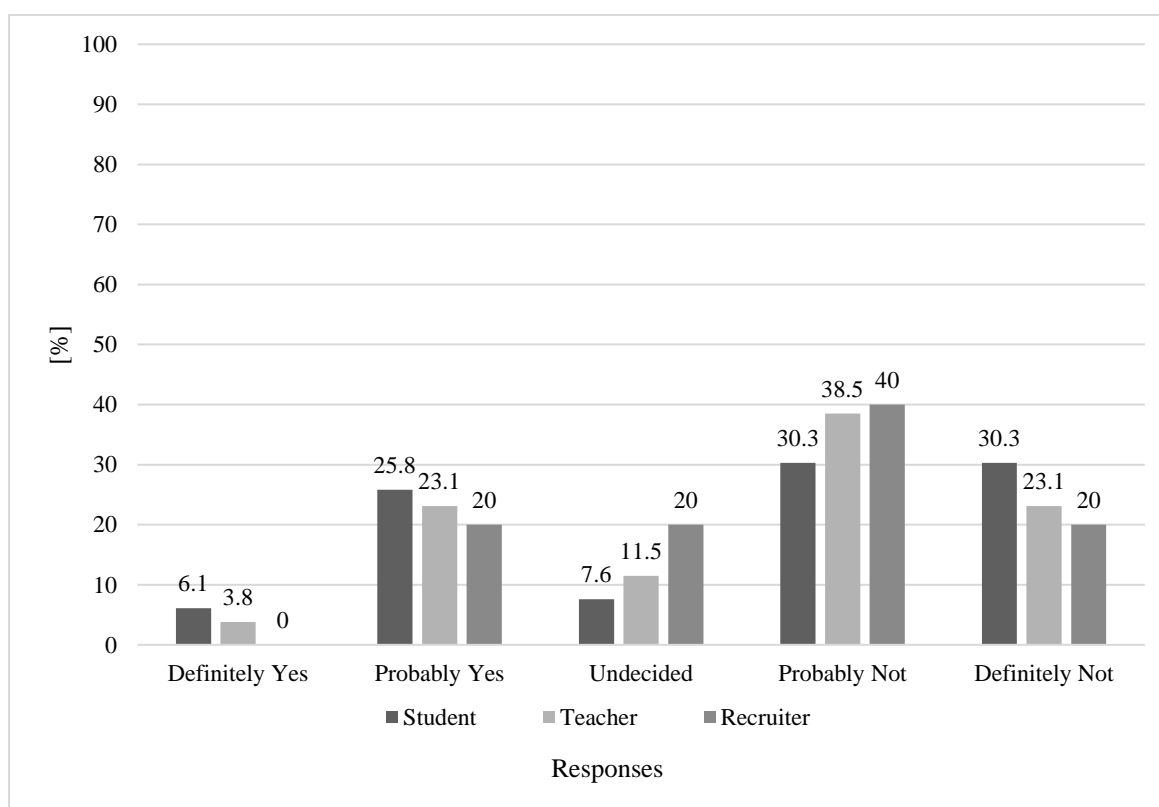


Figure 6. Becoming a Native Speaker in Adulthood

Overall, most respondents seem to disagree that Vignette Four corresponds to a ‘native speaker’. First, while approximately a quarter of student ($n=17$, 25.8%), teacher ($n=6$, 23.1%) and recruiter respondents ($n=1$, 20%) agreed that the description in Vignette Four referred to a ‘native speaker’, only a small fraction answered *Definitely Yes*. On the other hand, around two thirds of student ($n=40$, 60.6%), teacher ($n=16$, 61.6%) and recruiter respondents ($n=3$, 60%) responded *Probably Not* or *Definitely Not*. There are no significant differences between the cohorts according to Kruskal-Wallis test ($\chi^2(2)=0.017$, $p=0.992$). Thus, these results might suggest that all three cohorts view being a ‘native speaker’ as a fixed trait acquired at birth,

closely connected to acquiring the language at a young age and being brought up in it, which is in contrast to some researchers who see it as something one does (see 2.1.5).

This is reflected by the qualitative data. Several student, teacher and recruiter interviewees commented on this matter. First, being brought up in the language seems to be a necessary characteristic of a ‘native speaker’:

For me it's a person who is brought up in a given language, who grows up in a given culture and who speaks that language. [S1]

The very definition of who a 'native speaker' is quite clear. It's somebody (...) who grew up speaking the language and whose physical development is closely linked to their language development. [R2]

Some interviewees also pointed to acquiring the language as a child as a necessary characteristic of a ‘native speaker’:

And then you can have people who grow up speaking one language, but then they move to another country where they study, work and use the language of that country more than they 'native' language. I guess that's not 'native', because it might have something to do with age of acquisition. [T3]

'Native' I guess is someone who didn't explicitly learn it, just sort of acquired it, I guess. [T4]

For me it's about childhood acquisition rather than learning it even sort of in your late teenage years. The childhood is the crucial factor. It's a different way of learning. When I learned French or Spanish or Polish, it was a lot more conscious learning, whereas as you're developing as a child it's more natural, organic, subconscious kind of process. And stuff that I've seen recently, for example I've just read an article about swearing in languages that you learned later in life not having the same emotional and psychological effects as swearing in your first language does. There is some kind of difference between the two psychologically. [R4]

Perhaps it's not even to do with where you live or were born, but it's to do with your level of English, because people who learn English from a very young age can learn English to a 'native' level. [T5]

Both the quantitative and qualitative results presented above indicate that neither the respondents, nor the interviewees regard becoming a ‘native speaker’ in adulthood to be possible. Instead, they perceive childhood acquisition and later upbringing in a particular language as crucial to consider someone a ‘native speaker’. However, as one participant pointed out, “*there are a lot of grey areas in between what we normally think as a 'native speaker' and a 'non-native speaker'*” [T5]. One such possible grey area is someone born and raised in a non-English-speaking country in a bilingual household where English is one of the two home languages. This situation is explored in the next section.

4.1.5 Bilingual English User Raised in a Non-English-Speaking Country

Finally, Vignette Five showed a profile of a person brought up in a bilingual household in a non-English-speaking country. This Vignette reads as follows: *I did my education, including university, in a language other than English. Only one of my parents speaks English as their first language, but the other does not. At home we use English roughly half of the time and outside home I use it only sometimes. I am completely proficient in English. Am I a native English speaker?* The responses to this Vignette are shown in Table 8 and Figure 7 below.

Table 8. Native Speaker Status of a Bilingual Raised in a Non-English-Speaking Country

	Responses					
	Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Definitely Yes	1	1.6	3	11.5	0	0
Probably Yes	8	12.5	9	34.6	1	20
Undecided	8	12.5	2	7.7	2	40
Probably Not	19	29.7	5	19.2	2	40
Definitely Not	28	43.8	7	26.9	0	0

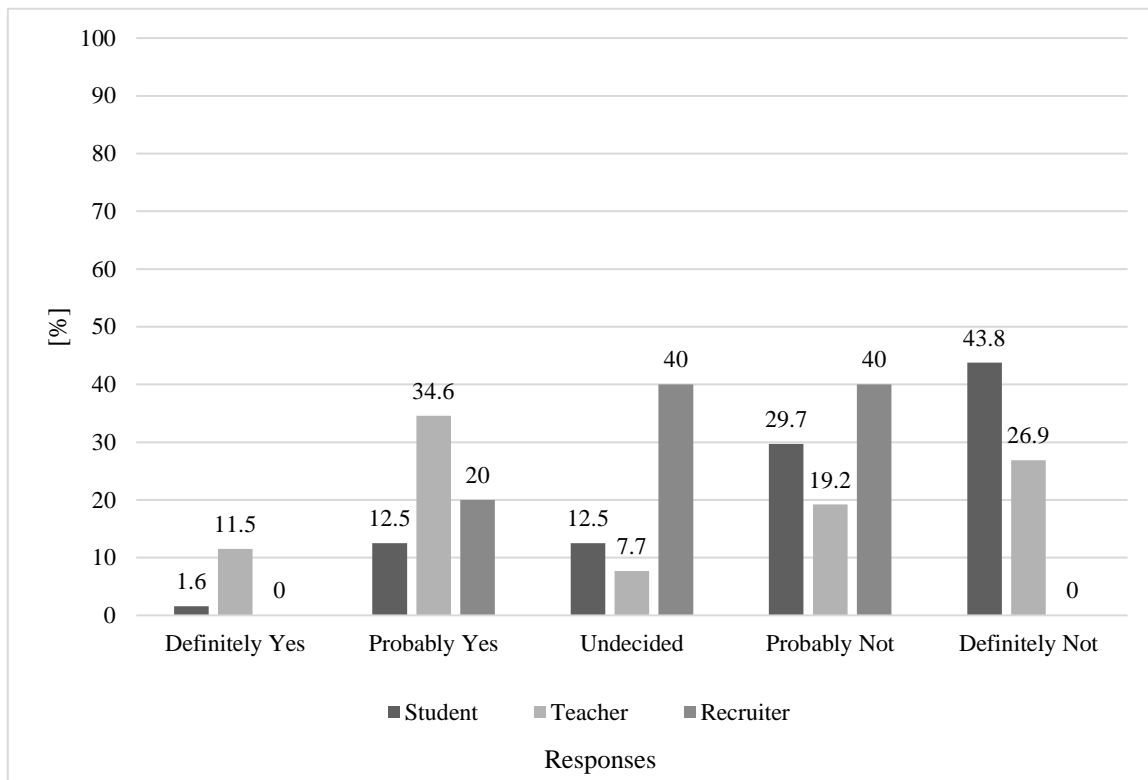


Figure 7. Native Speaker Status of a Bilingual Raised in a Non-English-Speaking Country

First, there are important differences between the responses given by the teacher respondents on the one hand, and student and recruiter respondents on the other. First, almost half ($n=12$, 46.1%) of the former agreed that Vignette Five described a ‘native speaker’. In contrast, only nine ($n=9$, 13.1%) student respondents and one recruiter respondent ($n=1$, 20%) agreed. In addition, there was strong disagreement among student respondents, with 29.7 per cent ($n=19$) answering *Probably Not* and 43.8 per cent ($n=28$) *Definitely Not*. Kruskal-Wallis test showed that there was a significant difference between the three cohorts ($\chi^2(2)=8.632$, $p=0.013$). Tamhane’s T2 test indicated this difference was significant between student and teacher respondents ($p=0.03$). This means that the former are significantly less likely than the latter to consider such a bilingual individual as described in Vignette Five to be a ‘native speaker’.

The results also suggest that having been born and raised in a non-English speaking country in a bilingual household is not viewed as sufficient by participants to be a ‘native speaker’. This is in contrast to the results from Vignette Two (see 4.1.2), which presented a very similar profile to that in Vignette Five, with the two main differences being having been born in an English-speaking country and having parents who are both ‘native speakers’, and which participants agreed described a ‘native speaker’.

The doubts about the ‘native speaker’ status of people similar to the individual described in Vignette Five were also expressed by two student interviewees:

Or when one of the parents is English-speaking, but the other isn't. (...) So, even a person born let's say in France to a bilingual couple, I'd have my doubts if they're a 'native speaker' of English, because the parents might use both languages interchangeably at home, or at home English and outside French, but here it'd be difficult for me to say whether that person is a 'native speaker' or not. If one language is only used at home for conversations, and the other outside, it is a bit difficult to define [if they're a 'native speaker']. [S1]

In our day and age it's a bit difficult to define who a 'native speaker' is. Maybe a few years ago, when people from for example England or the US would come to Poland to teach English, then it was understood that they are people who came from there, brought up there, who didn't speak much Polish. Now on the other hand we live in multicultural times, mixing of languages and cultures all over the world, so it is a bit difficult to define [who a 'native speaker' is]. [S3]

However, one recruiter interviewee pointed out that there are people who can become complete bilinguals:

(...) we have here people who were born in the UK, but now they teach in Poland and have children here who from the start are brought up bilingually, so these children are completely bilingual. I mean, they can use both languages at the same level, with the same ease. [R5]

In addition, one teacher interviewee suggested that both a person’s place of birth and the country they live in might not be important factors:

I don't think it's about where you're born necessarily. (...) Perhaps it's not even to do with where you live or were born, but it's to do with your level of English, because people who learn English from a very young age can learn English to a 'native' level. [T5]

However, that same teacher also questioned whether someone born and living in a non-English-speaking country would have access to an equally wide range of lexis:

On the other hand, a 'native speaker' of English has the benefit of having localised English expressions and colloquialisms, and English specific to where they were born or grew up. And if they learned English outside of an English-speaking country, they would not have so much access to that. [T5]

Finally, two teacher interviewees proposed that the label ‘native speaker’ is not an appropriate one as it is not always linked with fluency or proficiency. Hence, alternative terms should be used. This is in line with similar suggestions made by various scholars and researchers (see 2.1.5):

I never use the term 'native speaker' myself. I use proficient speaker, which of course in itself is questionable what is proficient speaker. But I think defining 'native' and 'non-native' isn't in fact very helpful. [T3]

But 'native speaker' isn't a very good label, because a lot of people who are 'native speakers' aren't necessarily very fluent in the sense that they can't speak the language well. So, it's a bad label anyway. Fluent or proficient is a better label. [T4]

Having presented the results concerning the definition of a ‘native speaker’, the following section focuses on participants’ attitudes to and perceptions of English teachers who are ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’.

4.2 Attitudes to and Perceptions of Native and Non-Native Speaker Teachers

Similarly to the preceding section, both quantitative and qualitative tools were used to gather data on RQ 2. This section is divided into four main subsections, each of which begins with a presentation of the quantitative data, which is then supported by the qualitative results. In the first part, student, teacher and recruiter participants' preferences for being taught a language by a 'native speaker' are outlined. The following subsection focuses on whether student participants' preference for 'native speakers' affects their choice of language school. Then, the results concerning teacher participants' preference to work with 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers are presented. Finally, the last subsection analyses recruiter participants' hiring policies with regards to 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers.

4.2.1 Teachers', Students' and Recruiters' Preference for Native Speakers

Ninety-one participants ($N=91$) completed part two of the questionnaire, 61 (67%) of whom were students, 25 (27%) teachers and 5 (6%) recruiters. In this part respondents answered four statements concerning their preference for being taught by a 'native speaker' teacher. The statements differed slightly between students and recruiters or teachers to reflect the fact that the former studied English, while the latter two were more likely to study a foreign language other than English. The exact differences between the statements can be seen in Appendix G. The responses are shown in Table 9 and Figure 8 below.

Table 9. Preference for Language Classes With Native Speaker Teachers

	Responses					
	Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Strongly Agree	29	47.5	3	12	0	0
Agree	13	21.3	2	8	3	60
Somewhat Agree	10	16.4	7	28	0	0
Neither agree nor disagree	5	8.2	7	28	1	20
Somewhat Disagree	2	3.3	3	12	0	0
Disagree	2	3.3	3	12	1	20
Strongly Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0

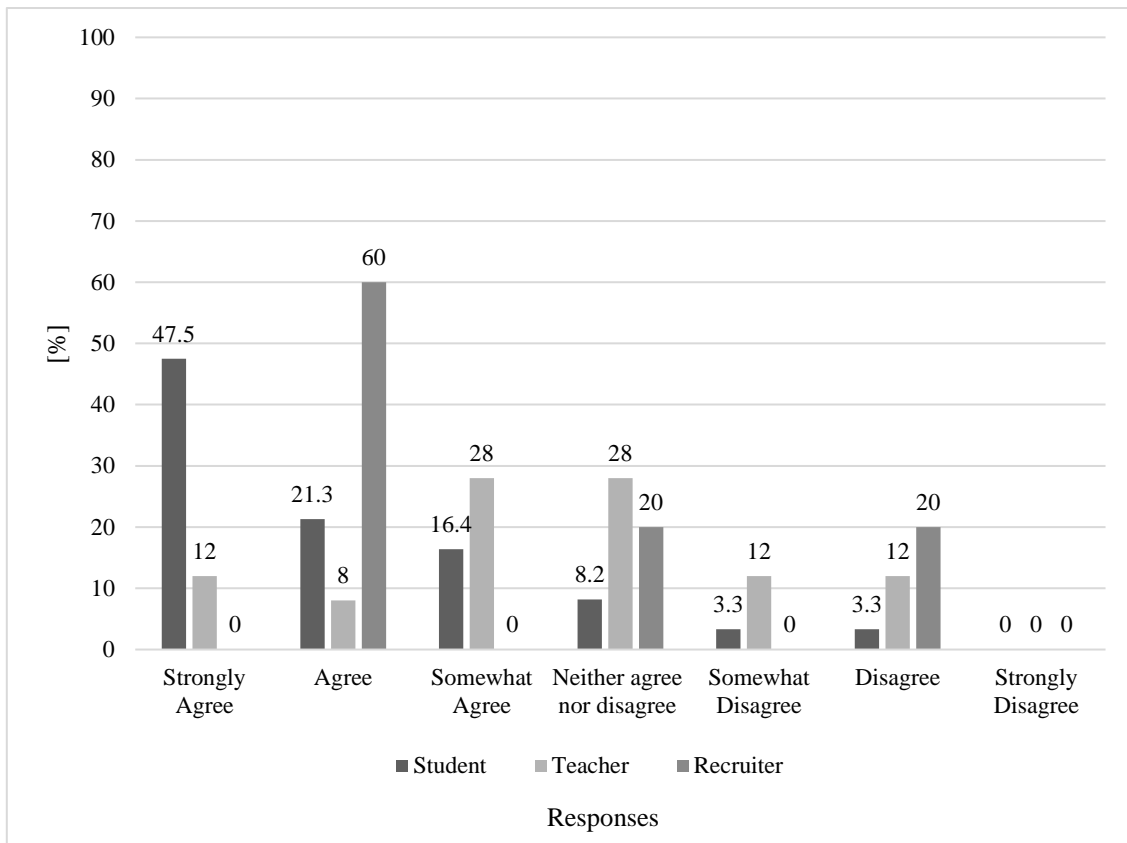


Figure 8. Preference for Language Classes With Native Speaker Teachers

First, it seems that most student and recruiter respondents preferred classes with ‘native speaker’ teachers. For example, just under half ($n=29$, 47.5%) of the former strongly agreed that they preferred having classes with a ‘native speaker’, and 23 (37.7%) agreed or somewhat agreed. Only 4 (6.6%) student respondents disagreed. Similarly, 60 per cent ($n=3$) of recruiters would prefer language classes with a ‘native speaker’, while only 1 (20%) disagreed. On the other hand, although at first glance it does seem like teacher respondents would also prefer having classes with ‘native speaker’ teachers, there are important differences in their responses. First, despite the fact that almost half ($n=12$, 48%,) strongly agreed, agreed or somewhat agreed they would prefer having foreign language classes with a ‘native speaker’, 7 (28%) only agreed somewhat. In addition, almost a third ($n=7$, 28%) of teacher respondents neither agreed nor disagreed with the statement - as opposed to under a tenth (8.2%, $n=5$) of student respondents. Finally, 6 (24%) teacher respondents somewhat disagreed or disagreed - in contrast to only 4 (6.6%) student respondents. Kruskal-Wallis test ($\chi^2(2)=18.063$, $p=0.0001$) showed statistically significant differences between the three cohorts, and Tamhane’s T2 test indicated that this difference was significant between the student and teacher respondents ($p=0.0003$). Consequently, the quantitative data suggest that the student respondents exhibit a significantly stronger preference for ‘native speaker’ teachers than do the teacher respondents.

This conclusion is supported by the qualitative data. For example, the preference for ‘native speaker’ teachers is reflected in the comment below from a student interviewee who mentioned that it was important to them that their English teacher be a ‘native speaker’:

I definitely prefer classes with ‘native speakers’, because they allow me to attune myself to the accent and I’m getting practice in understanding people who speak their first language fluently, and I’d like to learn this language as best as I can. [S2]

Two recruiter interviewees also pointed out that some students prefer ‘native speaker’ teachers:

Students do express a preference for 'native speakers', particularly for individual, 1-1, business lessons and stuff like that. Clients do come in and they say they only want a 'native speaker', sometimes they express a preference for a 'native speaker'. [R4]

The reason for not employing 'non-native speaker' teachers in Poland is the pressure from students. [R5]

This preference was confirmed by two teacher interviewees:

Yes, I do think students prefer 'native speakers'. [T2]

From my experience, students do have a preference for 'native speakers'. [T5]

However, T2 qualified their comment and suggested that it is perhaps not necessarily a 'native speaker' the students prefer, but a teacher they cannot speak Polish with:

But even though I'm not a 'native speaker', here in Poland students sometimes consider me a 'native speaker', because I don't speak Polish. They want a person with whom they don't have a choice of speaking Polish. It's more like that. This forces them to communicate in English. [T2]

Sometimes the students' preference goes so far that they will even refuse to have classes with a highly qualified 'non-native speaker' before even actually having the first class. This is illustrated by this story shared by one of the recruiter interviewees:

Once we were recruiting a teacher after a 'native speaker' had left. A local girl who had just done two modules of the DELTA applied for the job. I interviewed her, she did a demo lesson and we decided to hire her. There were of course other applications, but this girl was definitely the best candidate. And even before she started working for us, a row started in the group where she was substituting the 'native' teacher who was leaving. Two people from the group came to my office, and they refused to accept the argument that we hired the best possible candidate. They didn't care at all how qualified the new teacher was. They wanted a 'native speaker' and that's it. [R5]

Nevertheless, according to one teacher interviewee, this preference might actually come from parents, rather than the students themselves, especially as far as young learners are concerned:

With regards to children, I think their parents want a 'native speaker' as much as possible. [T4]

This observation was confirmed by one of the recruiter interviewees:

Where I felt [the preference] most is in the parents of young learners and teenage students. They have a preference for a 'native speaker', which to me sometimes shows that they kind of automatically think that if somebody is a 'native speaker', they're going to be a better teacher. And quite often when they inquire about our offer, about our courses, this is one of the first questions they ask: who are the teachers? [R2]

Despite the seemingly overwhelming preference for 'native speaker' teachers that could be inferred both from the quantitative and qualitative data presented thus far, there are also some qualitative findings that shed doubt on this. For example, two student interviewees highlighted that it did not matter to them whether their teacher was a 'native speaker':

So, for me the most important thing is how the teacher conveys knowledge, rather than whether they're a 'native speaker' or not. It's important how they conduct the classes. So, I would have nothing against having classes with a Polish teacher, for example. And we talked about this in our class with other students, and we all agreed that the most important thing is how the teacher conveys knowledge. [S3]

I think that for me it doesn't matter at all whether the teacher is a 'native speaker' or not. I need to speak grammatically correct, and the teacher must be able to pick out my mistakes and correct them. And whether he's a 'native speaker', is irrelevant. [S1]

Two teacher interviewees also expressed their doubts as to whether most students prefer 'native speaker' teachers:

Based on my conversations with my colleagues, there will occasionally be a client who comes and insists on having a 'native speaker', and rather has a worse 'native speaker' teacher than the best

qualified 'non-native speaker' teacher. [... However.] the eighty per cent in the middle don't seem to have a strong preference. [T1]

But on the whole, I'm not sure if the students really care. I know in some parts of the world they do really care, like in Asia, but I don't think they do in Poland. [T4]

These observations were echoed by three recruiter interviewees who cast their doubts on a widespread preference for 'native speaker' teachers among students:

I don't think the majority of students have a strong preference for 'native speakers'. All the students have already had classes with 'native speakers', so they know their strengths and weaknesses. [R1]

I'd say it's a minority that prefers 'native speaker' teachers, but there are the ones that are getting most attention, they are the vocal minority. The ones that don't have any clear preference just get along with it. That's why they don't stick in your memory. But the ones who do specify: I want a 'native', they're the ones that you remember. [R4]

I think that these complaints come from a minority. And let's not forget that there can be complaints about any teacher, regardless of their nationality, both regarding to their quality and personality. [R5]

One recruiter interviewee also suggested students are more interested in the teacher's qualifications than their 'nativeness':

With adult students what I've noticed is that quite often they aren't interested in 'native' or 'non-native speaker', but they are more interested in qualifications and experience. [R2]

Finally, two recruiter interviewees also mentioned that they had observed significant changes over the years in terms of students' preference for 'native speaker' teachers:

I think in general among people there is a feeling that a 'native speaker' is a better teacher. Mind you, this is changing, because in the last twenty-five years I've seen how language schools function. Twenty-five years ago it was enough to be a 'native speaker' and all the doors in Poland for example were open. Now people are more educated and they know that being a 'native speaker' in itself isn't enough. Twenty-five years have done its thing and now it is difficult to come here as a 'native speaker' and pretend you're a teacher. [R3]

I can see how the very attitude of students is changing. In the past, when there was less access to English on-line, it was like wow, that's it, a 'native speaker' teacher. That's my dream. And now, when you can have such easy access to 'native' English on different websites, YouTube, watch the TV, watch films and be exposed to 'native speakers', I don't think it's that important as in the past. If you look back at Polish history, especially during communist times, when were kind of cut off from the rest of the world, and basically had no contact, then it was something exceptional to have a 'native speaker' as a teacher. [R2]

Subsequently, the respondents were also asked whether they considered their language teacher’s L1 to be important. These results are shown in Table 10 and Figure 9 below.

Table 10. The L1 of the Language Teacher Is Important

	Responses					
	Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Strongly Agree	19	31.1	3	12	2	40
Agree	16	26.2	2	8	2	40
Somewhat Agree	11	18	4	16	0	0
Neither agree nor disagree	5	8.2	4	16	1	20
Somewhat Disagree	7	11.5	4	16	0	0
Disagree	2	3.3	5	20	0	0
Strongly Disagree	1	1.6	3	12	0	0

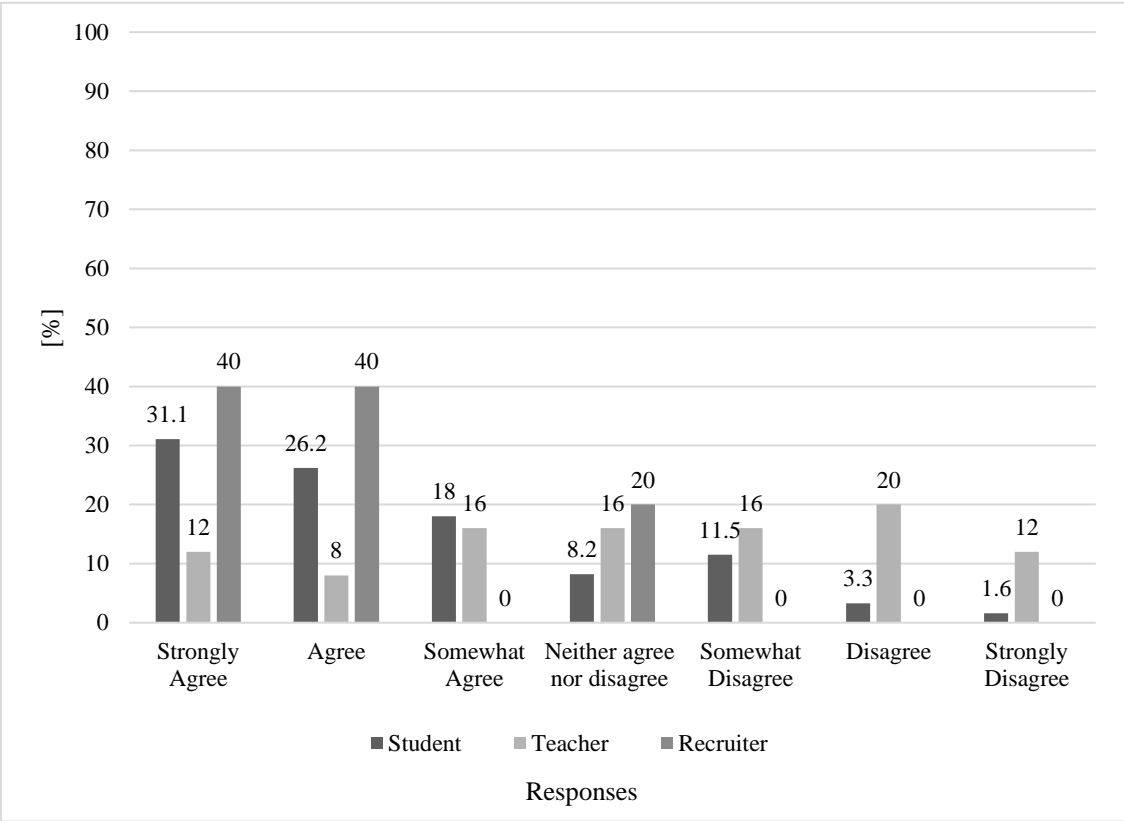


Figure 9. The L1 of the Language Teacher Is Important

The importance attached to the teacher’s mother tongue is the strongest among student and recruiter respondents, with 75.4 per cent ($n=46$) of the former and 80 per cent ($n=4$) of the latter group somewhat agreeing, agreeing or strongly agreeing with the statement. On the other hand, it seems teacher respondents attach far less importance to their foreign teacher’s mother tongue.

Only just over a third ($n=9$, 36%) somewhat agreed, agreed or strongly agreed that the first language was important, while approximately half ($n=12$, 48%) somewhat disagreed, disagreed or strongly disagreed. This is in sharp contrast to 0 (0%) recruiter and 10 (16.4%) student respondents who disagreed. Kruskal-Wallis test ($\chi^2(2)=14.391$, $p=0.01$) showed statistical differences between the three cohorts, and Tamhane's T2 test indicated that the difference was significant between the teachers' and students' ($p=0.002$), as well as between teachers' and recruiters' responses ($p=0.02$).

The quantitative results presented in Table 10 and Figure 9 suggest that student and recruiter respondents attach significantly more importance to their teacher's L1 than do the surveyed teachers. Bearing in mind student respondents' strong preference for having classes with 'native speaker' teachers, which was discussed previously (see Table 9 and Figure 8), it might mean students would prefer classes with teacher's whose L1 is English. This, however, is contradicted by what one student interviewee said:

I've had four teachers in this language school so far and only the one I have classes with now speaks English as their mother tongue. And for me it doesn't really matter if someone was born in an English-speaking country, or in another country and simply learned the language. [S3]

Thirdly, respondents were also asked whether they preferred having classes both with 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers. The results are presented in Table 11 and Figure 10 below.

Table 11. Preference for Classes Both With Native and Non-Native Speaker Teachers

	Responses					
	Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Strongly Agree	9	14.8	3	12	1	20
Agree	14	23	8	32	0	0
Somewhat Agree	7	11.5	5	20	1	20
Neither agree nor disagree	12	19.7	7	28	1	20
Somewhat Disagree	5	8.2	0	0	2	40
Disagree	8	13.1	2	8	0	0
Strongly Disagree	6	9.8	0	0	0	0

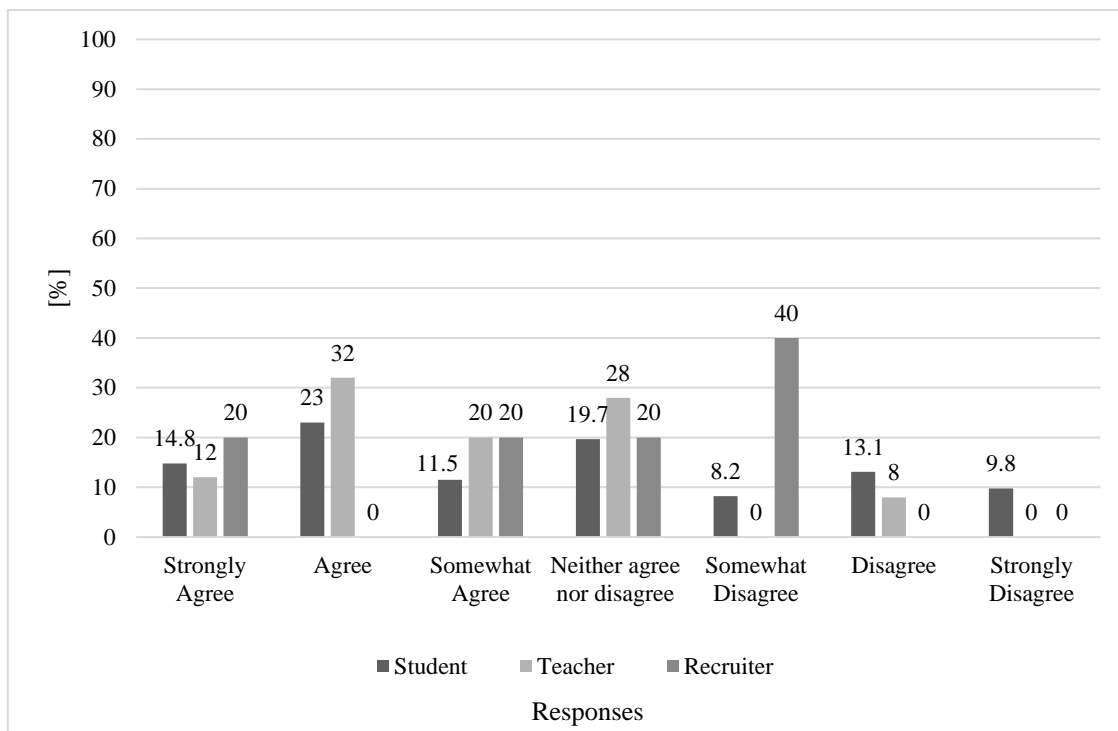


Figure 10. Preference for Classes Both With Native and Non-Native Speaker Teachers

The data in Table 11 and Figure 10 show that the majority of respondents from each group prefers being taught both by ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers. For example, approximately half of the student respondents ($n=30$, 49.2%) somewhat agreed, agreed or strongly agreed with this. This agreement was even stronger among teacher respondents ($n=16$, 64%), with less than a tenth ($n=2$, 8%) disagreeing. As far as recruiter respondents are concerned, their responses are evenly spread out with 2 (40%) agreeing, 2 (40%) disagreeing and 1 (20%) neither agreeing nor disagreeing. However, Kruskal-Wallis test showed that these differences between the responses of the three cohorts were not statistically significant ($\chi^2(2)=1.932$, $p=0.381$). In summary, these results suggest a preference for having classes both with ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers among all three cohorts. While this preference seems to be stronger among teacher respondents than among student and recruiter respondents, which is in line with previously presented results (see Table 9 and Figure 8) which showed the teacher respondents had the weakest preference for ‘native speaker’ teachers; this difference is not statistically significant.

With regards to the qualitative data, there was only one interviewee who commented on this issue:

For example, now on Tuesdays we’ve got classes with Kasia, who’s Polish, and on Thursdays with Sally. For me these classes are different, because each teacher pays attention to slightly different things. For example, Kasia knows what problems we might have in English, and Sally puts more emphasis on us speaking English as much as possible. So, for me combining these two teachers [a ‘non-native’ and a ‘native speaker’] is a brilliant solution. I’m delighted. [S1]

Finally, the three cohorts were also asked whether they preferred having classes with a ‘non-native speaker’ teacher. The results can be seen in Table 12 and Figure 11 below.

Table 12. Preference for Classes With a Non-Native Speaker Teacher

	Responses					
	Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Strongly Agree	2	3.3	1	4	0	0
Agree	5	8.2	0	0	1	20
Somewhat Agree	4	6.6	6	24	0	0
Neither agree nor disagree	10	16.4	7	28	1	20
Somewhat Disagree	12	19.7	5	20	0	0
Disagree	12	19.7	4	16	3	60
Strongly Disagree	16	26.2	2	8	0	0

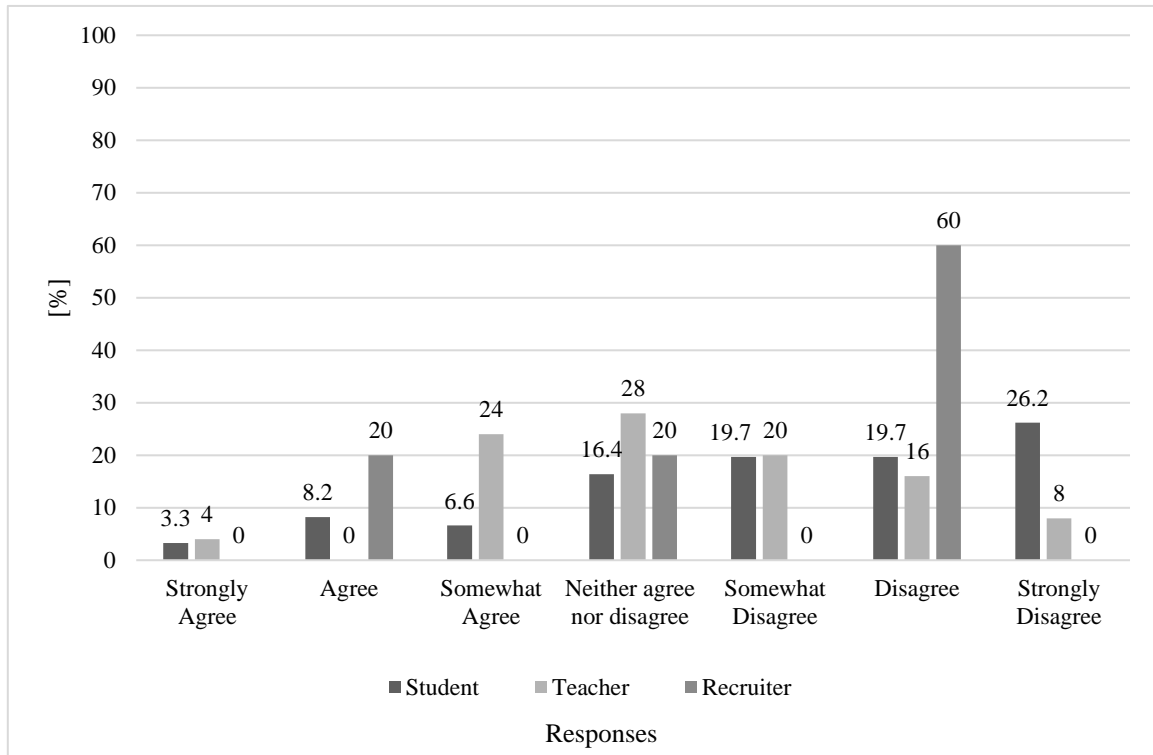


Figure 11. Preference for Classes With a Non-Native Speaker Teacher

Overall, all three cohorts seem to disagree that they would prefer classes with a ‘non-native speaker’ teacher. First, there were 40 (65.6%) student, 11 (44%) teacher and 3 (60%) recruiter respondents who somewhat disagreed, disagreed or strongly disagreed. It is notable that over a quarter ($n=16$, 26.2%) of student respondents disagreed strongly, in contrast to less than a tenth ($n=2$, 8%) of the teachers. However, it is worth noting that none of the differences between the responses of the three cohorts are significant when Kruskal-Wallis test was performed ($\chi^2(2)=3.736$, $p=0.154$). To sum up, the data presented above in Table 12 and Figure 11 show that the vast majority of respondents does not prefer classes with a ‘non-native speaker’ teacher.

This initial bias against teachers whose L1 is not English is reflected in this comment from a recruiter interviewee:

We had a Romanian teacher and after her first lesson, or even before the first lesson, the students became aware that the teacher was Romanian and they said they didn't want to have classes with her. DELTA-qualified, fantastic teacher. A distinction in fact I think in all three modules of the DELTA. So, our response here was, give the teacher a chance, go to the classes for a week or two, if you still want to leave after that, we can find you a 'native speaker' group. And that was the last we heard from the students. They stayed in the class and they were very, very happy. [R4]

However, this is contradicted by one teacher interviewee who observed that:

There have been clients who specifically said we want a Polish teacher, because they know the problems we're likely to have. [T1]

This was echoed by yet another teacher interviewee, who pointed out that they knew “a lot of students who prefer ‘non-native speakers’. It depends on the student and what they’re after. Some are intimidated by ‘natives’” [T3].

Another teacher interviewee mentioned that some students actually prefer teachers who speak their L1, which often means local ‘non-native speaker’ teachers:

I know that a lot of the low-level students in our school seem to be more confident having a Polish teacher. But I think that's because they want someone who understands Polish, rather than because they want someone who isn't a 'native speaker'. So, if there was let's say a German teacher of English who didn't speak any Polish, I don't think the students would be requesting that teacher. [T4]

Another possible reason why some students might prefer ‘non-native speaker’ teachers is bad previous experience with ‘native speakers’:

And the reason is they might have some bad experiences with having classes with a 'native speaker' who was not qualified, not prepared and had no idea of the methodology of teaching the language. [R2]

In order to shed further light on the respondents’ preference for teachers whose L1 is English, and those for whom it is not, student and teacher respondents were also asked about how pleased they felt with the classes they had previously had with ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers. These questions were answered on a 5-point Likert scale from *Very pleased* to *Very displeased*. The questions differed slightly to reflect the fact that the students learned English, while the teachers a foreign language (which might have been English or another language). The exact differences can be seen in Table 34 (see Appendix G). As no qualitative data were collected on this theme, only quantitative results are presented below.

Overall, 79 participants answered these questions. Fifty-six ($n=56$; 71%) were students, while 23 (29%) were teachers. There were 46 (58%) student respondents and 20 (25%) teacher respondents who had had classes with ‘native speaker’ teachers. In addition, 48 (61%) student and 21 (27%) teacher respondents had had classes with ‘non-native speaker’ teachers. The responses are presented in Table 13, Table 14, Figure 12 and Figure 13 below.

Table 13. Satisfaction With Native Speaker Teachers

	Responses			
	Students		Teachers	
	No	[%]	No	[%]
Very pleased	23	50	9	45
Pleased	19	41.3	5	25
Neither pleased nor displeased	3	6.5	6	30
Displeased	1	2.2	0	0%
Very Displeased	0	0	0	0

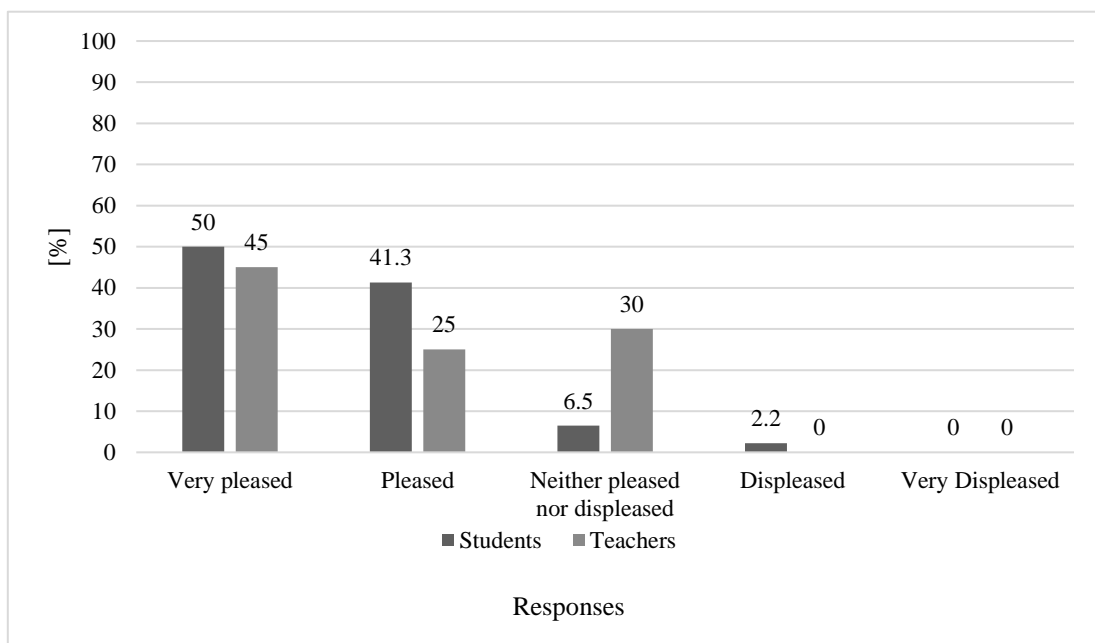


Figure 12. Satisfaction With Native Speaker Teachers

Table 14. Satisfaction With Non-Native Speaker Teachers

	Responses			
	Students		Teachers	
	No	[%]	No	[%]
Very pleased	18	37.5	7	33.3
Pleased	23	47.9	9	42.9
Neither pleased nor displeased	4	8.3	5	23.8
Displeased	2	4.2	0	0
Very Displeased	1	2.1	0	0

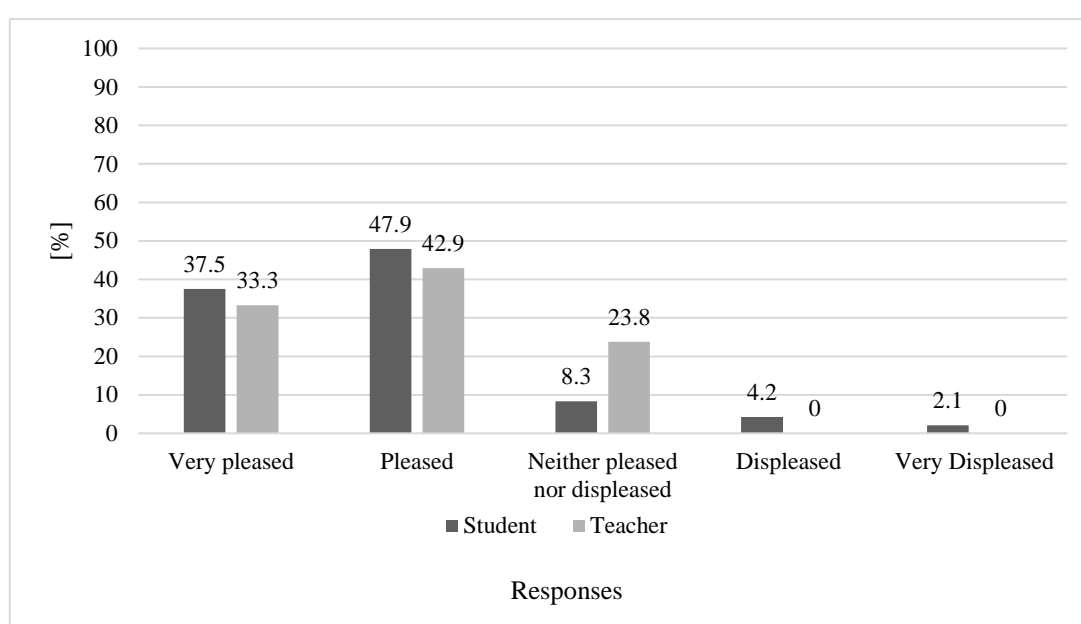


Figure 13. Satisfaction With Non-Native Speaker Teachers

The results indicate that the majority of both student and teacher respondents were either pleased or very pleased with their previous ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers. For example, 91.3 per cent ($n=44$) of the former were either pleased or very pleased with their previous classes with ‘native speakers’, while 85.4 per cent ($n=41$) were also pleased or very pleased with previous classes with ‘non-native speaker’ teachers. Likewise, 70 per cent ($n=14$) of teachers felt pleased or very pleased with ‘native speaker’ teachers, while even a higher proportion ($n=16$, 76.2%) was either pleased or very pleased with ‘non-native speaker’ teachers.

It could be hypothesised that the more pleased the student respondents were with either their previous ‘native’ or ‘non-native speaker’ teachers, the more they would prefer to have classes with that group. First, however, no such correlation ($\rho=0.185$, $p=0.145$) was observed as far as ‘native speaker’ teachers are concerned. This is an interesting result and might indicate that the student respondents prefer ‘native speaker’ teachers regardless of whether their previous experience with them was positive or not. This result might also be explained by the fact that practically all students were satisfied with ‘native speaker’ teachers. Second, there is a negative correlation ($\rho=0.311$, $p=0.032$) between the student respondents’ satisfaction with ‘non-native speaker’ teachers and their preference for this group of teachers. In other words, despite the fact most student respondents were satisfied with those teachers, they still preferred

to have classes with ‘native speakers’. This might show how deeply ingrained native speakerism is in the minds of the students.

As far as teacher respondents are concerned, there is a correlation ($\rho=0.452$, $p=0.033$) between how pleased they were with their previous ‘native speaker’ teachers and how much they prefer to have foreign language classes with ‘native speakers’. However, no such correlation ($\rho=0.005$, $p=0.887$) can be observed between the teacher respondents’ satisfaction with ‘non-native speakers’ and their preference for having foreign language classes with those teachers. This might mean that while positive previous experience with ‘native speaker’ teachers reinforces the preference for classes with those teachers, the same is not true of positive experience with ‘non-native speaker’ teachers. Consequently, similarly to the student respondents, the teacher respondents seem to be negatively biased against ‘native speaker’ teachers regardless of how positive their previous experience with those teachers was.

It is also important to ask whether this preference among the three cohorts translates into actions, when it comes to choosing the language school students would like to study in, selecting the employer teachers would prefer working for, and when recruiting teachers. The data on these questions was gathered in part 2.2 of the questionnaire and is presented in the following sections. Since each cohort answered slightly different questions, the presentation of the data is divided into three sections, first focusing on student, then teacher and finally recruiter respondents.

4.2.2 Students’ Choice of Language School

In part 2.2 of the questionnaire, 61 student respondents answered four statements concerning how the preference for ‘native speakers’ might impact their choice of language school. They had to decide to what extent it mattered to them that the school they would study in had ‘native speaker’ teachers. More specifically, the questions looked at whether students check if the school employs ‘native speaker’ teachers when choosing it, whether they would complain to the school director if taught by a ‘non-native speaker’, whether it was important that the school they studied in had both ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers, and finally whether they preferred to study in a school that employed only ‘native speaker’ teachers. Since no qualitative data were gathered on this topic, only the quantitative findings are presented in this section. The responses can be seen in Table 15 and Figure 14 below.

Table 15. The Effect of Native Speaker Teachers on Students' Choice of a Language School

	When I choose a language school, I check if they employ NES teachers		I would complain to the school director if I had classes with a NNES teacher		It is important to me that the school where I study has both NES and NNES teachers		I prefer to study in a school which only employs NES teachers	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Strongly Agree	22	36.1	1	1.6	7	11.5	13	21.3
Agree	16	26.2	3	4.9	18	29.5	6	9.8
Somewhat Agree	9	14.8	3	4.9	11	18.0	12	19.7
Neither agree nor disagree	1	1.6	5	8.2	16	26.2	8	13.1
Somewhat Disagree	6	9.8	9	14.8	3	4.9	12	19.7
Disagree	5	8.2	22	36.1	2	3.3	8	13.1
Strongly Disagree	2	3.3	18	29.5	4	6.6	2	3.3

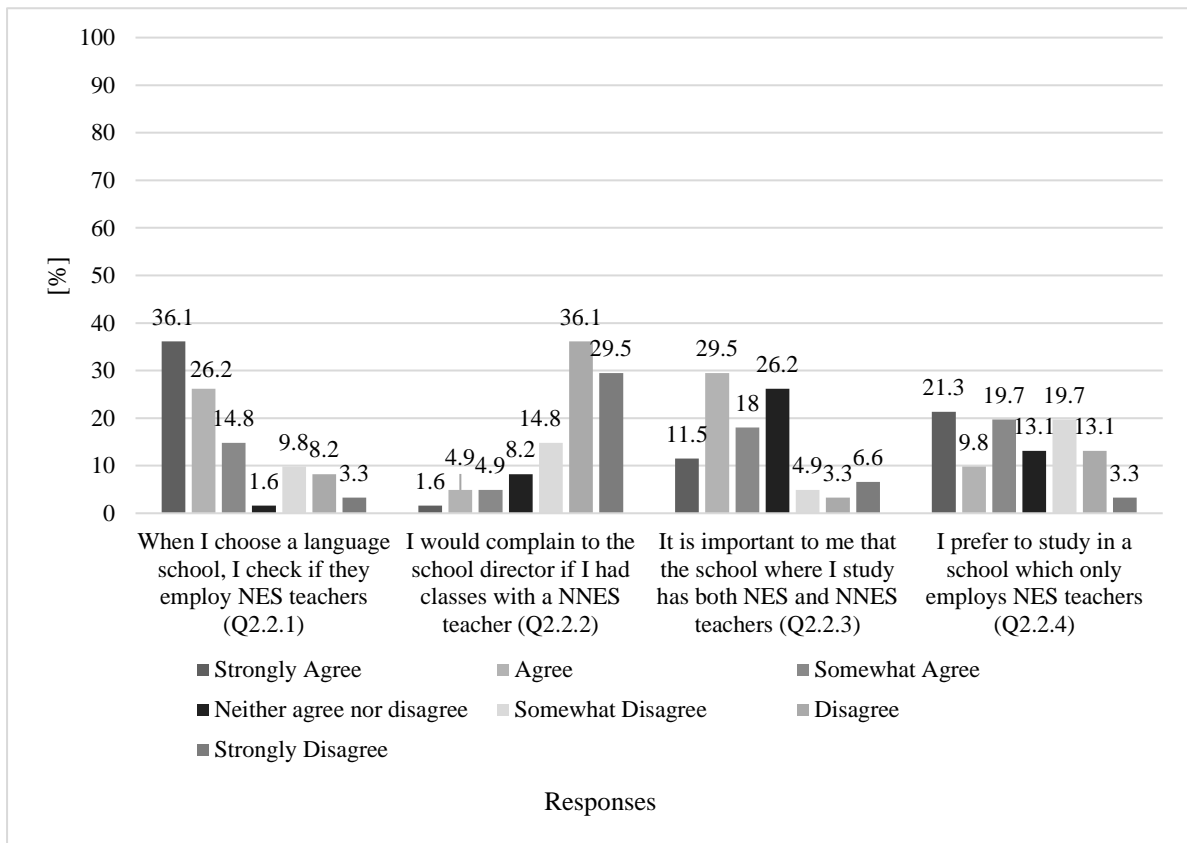


Figure 14. The Effect of Native Speaker Teachers on Students' Choice of a Language School

First, it seems that the vast majority of student respondents does check whether a language school employs ‘native speaker’ teachers when choosing their place of study. 78.7 per cent ($n=47$) somewhat agreed, agreed or strongly agreed, with 36.1 per cent ($n=22$) agreeing strongly. However, while the presence of ‘native speaker’ teachers is an important factor for the student respondents when choosing a language school, only 11.4 per cent ($n=7$) somewhat agreed, agreed or strongly agreed that they would complain to the school director if they had classes with a ‘non-native speaker’ teacher. In addition, more than three quarters ($n=49$, 80.4%) somewhat disagreed, disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement, with more than a third disagreeing ($n=22$, 36.1%) and slightly less than a third strongly disagreeing ($n=18$, 29.5%).

Furthermore, it also seems that it is important for the student respondents that the language school in which they study has both ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers. In total, 59 per cent ($n=36$) somewhat agreed, agreed or strongly agreed with this statement, while only 14.8 per cent ($n=9$) somewhat disagreed, disagreed or strongly disagreed. However, it is important to note that almost a third ($n=16$, 26.2%) neither agreed nor disagreed. Finally, half of the student respondents ($n=31$, 50.8%) somewhat agreed, agreed or strongly agreed that they preferred studying in a school that only employs ‘native speaker’ teachers. However, an important percentage ($n=22$, 36.1%) was also in disagreement with this statement.

In conclusion, the quantitative data presented in Table 15 and Figure 14 show that a large proportion of student respondents checks whether a school employs ‘native speaker’ teachers before enrolling, and that half would prefer studying in a school that employs only ‘native speaker’ teachers. These two results are strongly correlated ($\rho=0.304$, $p=0.001$, and $r=0.489$, $p=0.0002$, respectively) with a preference for ‘native speaker’ teachers discussed in the previous section (see 4.2.1). Nevertheless, it is worth noting that few student respondents would complain to the school director if taught by a ‘non-native speaker’ teacher. In addition, the data also indicates that it is important for students that the school they study in employs both ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers. As a result, it seems that recruiting ‘native speakers’ only, which is a common practice in ELT (see 2.2.4.3), does not actually reflect the preferences of a significant proportion of students.

Having looked at how the preference for ‘native speaker’ teachers might affect student respondents’ choice of language school, it is also worth considering what type of school teacher respondents would like to work in as far as the ratio of ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’ is concerned. This is further explored in the next section.

4.2.3 Teachers’ Attitudes to Working with Native and Non-Native Speakers

In part 2.2 of the questionnaire, 24 teacher respondents had to respond to what extent they preferred working in a school that only employed both ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers, only ‘native speaker’ teachers or only ‘non-native speaker’ teachers. Finally, the respondents also had to agree how important it was the school they worked for gave equal employment opportunities to both ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers. Table 16 and Figure 15 below show the responses to these statements. Unfortunately, no qualitative data were gathered on this topic.

Table 16. Teachers' Preference for Working With Native or Non-Native Speakers

	It is important that the school I teach in employs both NES and NNES teachers.		I prefer to work at a school which only employs NES teachers.		I prefer to work at a school which only employs NNES teachers.		It is important that the school I teach in gives equal professional opportunities to both NES and NNES teachers.	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Strongly Agree	14	58.3	1	4.2	0	0	18	75
Agree	3	12.5	1	4.2	1	4.2	3	12.5
Somewhat Agree	4	16.7	0	0	1	4.2	1	4.2
Neither agree nor disagree	3	12.5	1	4.2	1	4.2	0	0
Somewhat Disagree	0	0	3	12.5	2	8.3	1	4.2
Disagree	0	0	10	41.7	9	37.5	0	0
Strongly Disagree	0	0	8	33.3	10	41.7	1	4.2

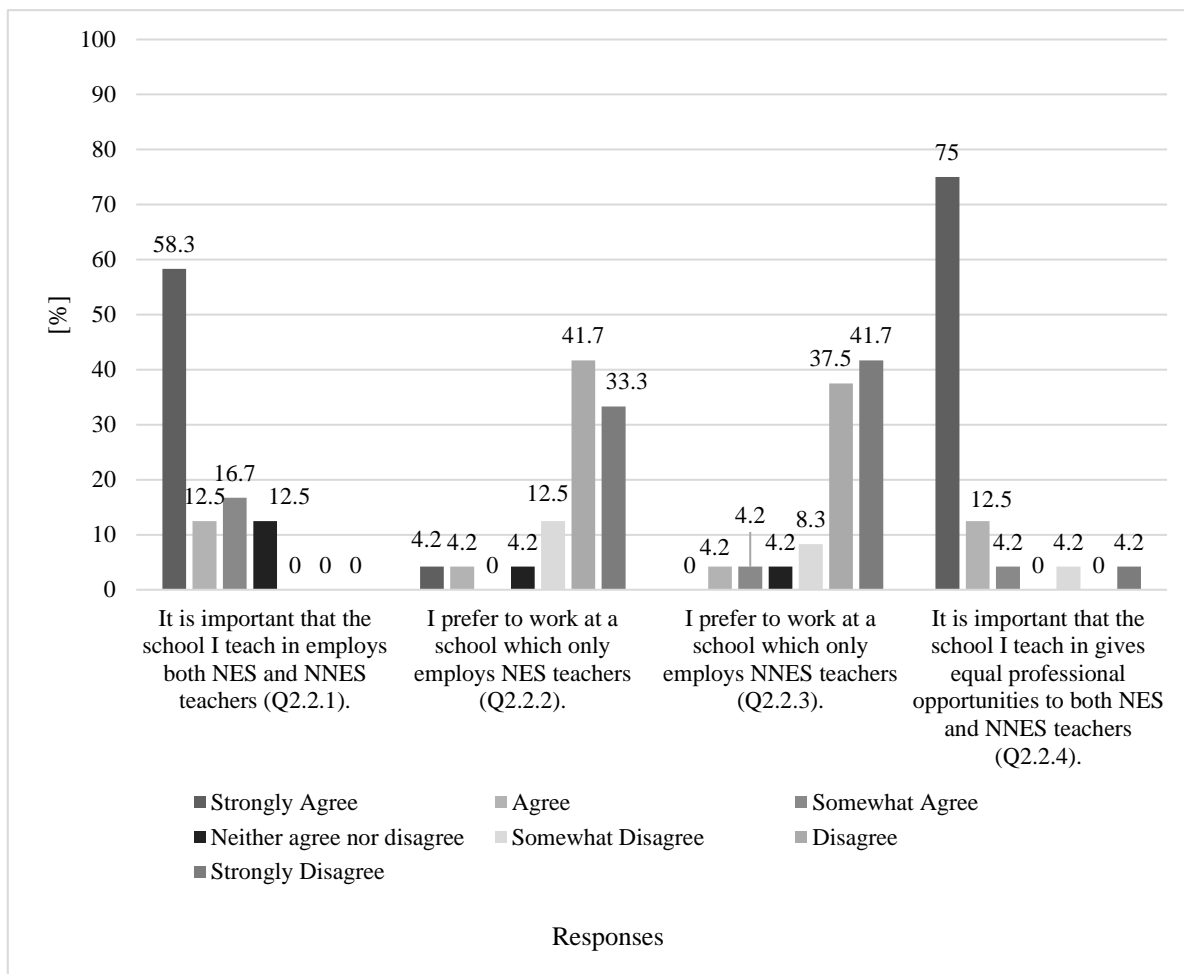


Figure 15. Teachers' Preference for Working With Native or Non-Native Speakers

The surveyed teachers seem to be in agreement that it is important the school they work for not only employs, but also gives equal professional opportunities to both 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers. First, 58.3 per cent ($n=14$) strongly agreed with the former statement, while another 29.2 per cent ($n=7$) somewhat agreed or agreed. Likewise, three quarters ($n=18$, 75%) of the teacher respondents strongly agreed, and 16.7 per cent ($n=4$) somewhat agreed or agreed with the latter statement. Moreover, none of the surveyed teachers disagreed that it was important the school they worked for employed both 'native' and 'non-native speakers'. Finally, less than a tenth ($n=2$, 8.4%) disagreed that these two groups should be given equal professional opportunities.

This trend is reflected in answers to the following two questions, which checked whether the teacher respondents preferred working in a school that only employed 'native speaker' teachers, or a school that only employed 'non-native speaker' teachers. 87.5 per cent ($n=21$) of the surveyed teachers either somewhat disagreed, disagreed or strongly disagreed they would prefer working in a 'native speaker' only school, with a third disagreeing strongly ($n=8$, 33.3%) and 41.7 per cent ($n=10$) disagreeing. Exactly the same percentage of teacher respondents ($n=21$, 87.5%) somewhat disagreed, disagreed or strongly disagreed that they would prefer working in a school that only employed 'non-native speaker' teachers, with 41.7 per cent ($n=10$) disagreeing strongly.

The quantitative results presented in Table 16 and Figure 15 show that the vast majority of teacher respondents feel strongly that both 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers should be given equal professional opportunities. Moreover, these results also indicate that the surveyed teachers also consider it important that the school they work for employs both 'native' and 'non-

native speaker’ teachers. It is also clear that they would not prefer working for schools that only employed one of the groups but not the other. Having looked at student and teacher respondents’ preferences, the next section focuses on recruiters and explores whether they prefer hiring ‘native speaker’ teachers.

4.2.4 Recruiters’ Preference for Hiring Native Speaker Teachers

In this section, first the quantitative data are presented. It is then supported by qualitative findings from the interviews. Five recruiters ($n=5$) answered questions in section 2.2 of the questionnaire. The recruiters had to answer whether they preferred hiring ‘native speaker’ teachers, whether it was important that both ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers worked at the school, whether the mother tongue of the teacher was an important hiring criterion when making hiring decisions, and whether they thought their school would be more successful if it only hired ‘native speaker’ teachers. The responses are presented in Table 17 and Figure 16 below.

Table 17. Recruiters’ Hiring Preferences for Native and Non-Native Speaker Teachers

	I prefer to hire NES teachers.		It is important that both NES and NNES teachers work in my school.		Mother tongue of the teacher is an important criterion when making hiring decisions.		My school would be more successful if it only had NES teachers.	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Strongly Agree	2	40	2	40	1	20	2	40
Agree	1	20	1	20	2	40	0	0
Somewhat Agree	1	20	1	20	2	40	0	0
Neither agree nor disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	20
Somewhat Disagree	1	20	1	20	0	0	2	40
Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Strongly Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

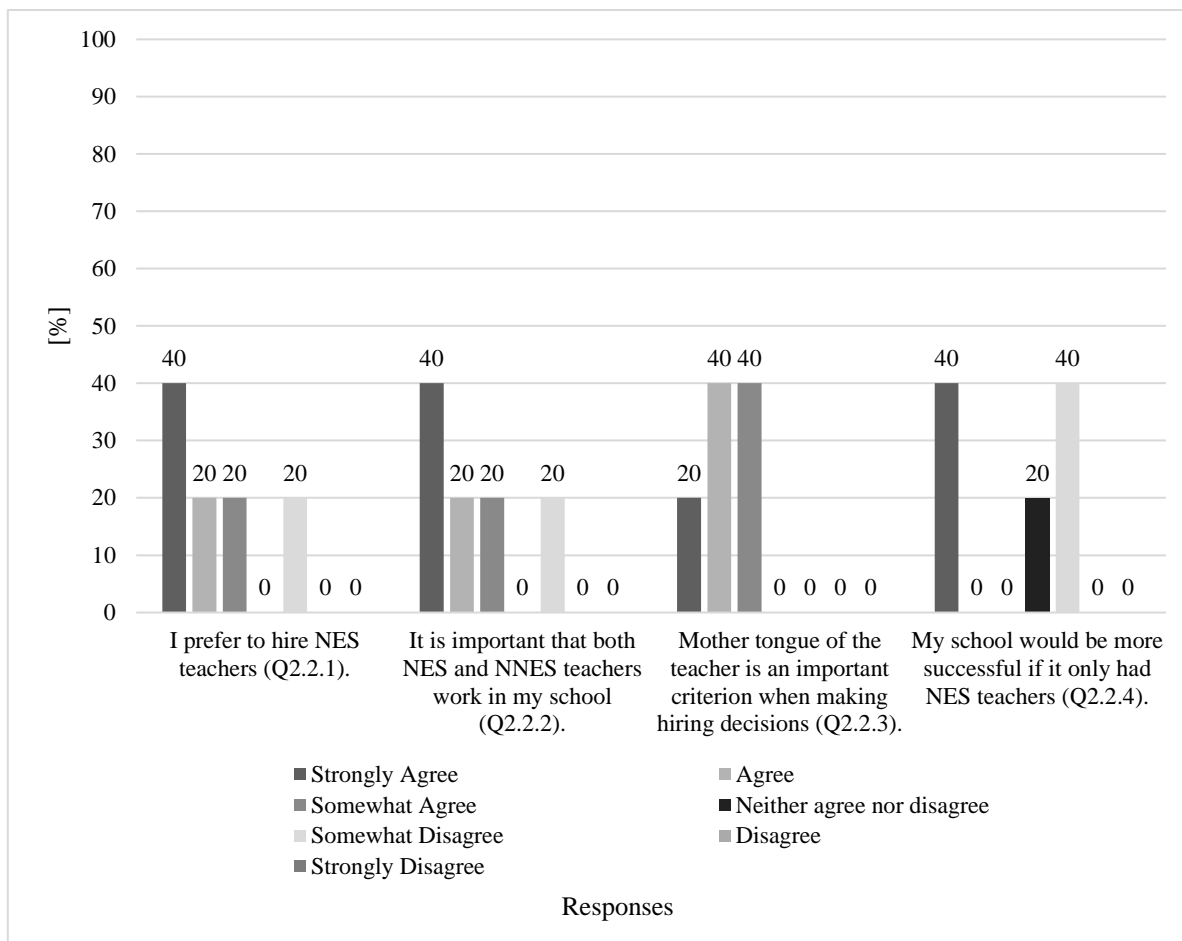


Figure 16. Recruiters' Hiring Preferences for Native and Non-Native Speaker Teachers

Four out of five ($n=4$, 80%) recruiter respondents surveyed somewhat agreed, agreed or strongly agreed they preferred hiring 'native speaker' teachers, while only 1 (20%) somewhat disagreed. In addition, all ($n=5$, 100%) recruiter respondents stated that the teacher's mother tongue was an important criterion when making hiring decisions. However, these answers seem to contradict the responses given to the statement *it is important that both NES and NNES teachers work in my school*. Namely, 80 per cent ($n=4$) of the recruiter respondents somewhat agreed, agreed or strongly agreed with this statement. This suggests that while these respondents have a strong preference for recruiting 'native speakers' only, they also recognise the importance of having both 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers in the school. Finally, the surveyed recruiters seem to be divided on the issue of whether their school would be more successful if it only had 'native speaker' teachers. While two recruiter respondents (40%) strongly agreed, (40%) somewhat disagreed, and one (20%) neither agreed nor disagreed.

These results indicate a strong preference among recruiters to hire 'native speakers'. Moreover, the candidate's mother tongue is considered an important hiring criterion. However, at the same time the respondents think it important their school has both 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers. They also do not think their school would be more successful if it hired 'native speakers' only. Consequently, there seem to be a contradiction in recruiter respondents' answers which the qualitative data might help to shed some light on.

All five recruiter interviewees indicated that the 'native' or 'non-native speaker' question was not particularly important to them:

Whether someone is a 'native speaker' is of secondary importance to me. [R1]

From my perspective it's not the most important difference, being a 'native' or a 'non-native speaker'. [R2]

I also talk to other recruiters in the city and we're all of the same opinion - educational background is they key [not the teacher's first language]. [R3]

The 'native' or 'non-native' question is a bit redundant. [R4]

A 'native speaker' isn't necessarily a teacher. Being a teacher is the most important thing. And whether that teacher is from this or other country is irrelevant. [R5]

The recruiter interviewees then pointed out that there were other much more important factors they took into account when hiring teachers. For example:

I believe that language awareness and the ability to convey knowledge are much more important, and they are the key factors when teaching a language. [R1]

I think it's much more important how the person is prepared to their job, their qualifications. It's about language awareness, methodology, and the way they teach, rather than whether we are or are not a 'native speaker'. [R2]

I think that for me the most important thing is that they know the language to a high degree of proficiency, C2 for example; and that they are qualified. [R3]

It's about whether the teacher is effective. I've seen good and bad 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers. (...) For me is not a question of your first language. It's a question of your ability to do the job. To engage the students, to convey the information and get them communicating. [R4]

One recruiter interviewee also observed they would have no problem in choosing a qualified and proficient 'non-native speaker' over an unqualified 'native speaker':

If I had to choose between a 'native speaker' who doesn't know how to teach, or is mediocre, or I could choose a Spaniard, or a Hungarian, or a Romanian, as we've had such teachers here in the past, who were super proficient; it would be very easy to decide. I'd choose the 'non-native speaker'. [R3]

In addition, another recruiter interviewee mentioned that they have seen more bad 'native speaker' teachers than 'non-native' ones:

I've probably seen more bad 'native' ones than 'non-native' ones. (...) The worst teachers I've seen have all been 'natives'. [R4]

However, one of the recruiter interviewees did point out that the proficiency of 'native speakers' was of great importance at higher levels, perhaps suggesting that a 'non-native speaker' could not teach such levels effectively:

On very high levels, where far-reaching precision is important, then OK a 'native speaker' is incredibly valuable. So, the first language of the teacher isn't the key, but it is of great importance on higher levels. On the other hand, it's importance on lower levels is minimal. [R1]

Likewise, another recruiter interviewee observed that the proficiency of 'non-native speaker' applicants is often below the desired standards:

And the truth is that when we advertise positions, the level of the applications we receive from 'non-native speakers' is not very high as far as language goes. [R3]

The qualitative results presented above seem to contradict the quantitative ones suggesting that the recruiter interviewees do not have a preference for hiring 'native speaker' teachers. It is possible that the anonymity of the questionnaire might have allowed for more honest answers than those in face-to-face interviews, where the social desirability bias (Edwards, 1957) could have come to the fore. In other words, the recruiter interviewees answered the questions in a way they thought would be viewed favourably by the researcher. A hint to this might be seen in the comments below where two recruiter interviewees stated that having 'native speaker' teachers is important for marketing purposes, and that their school does mostly hire 'native speaker' teachers:

Of course, you've also got to leave some room for marketing. Polish market is not an easy one, so every school builds its brand and tries to sell itself in its own way. You know, I'm not going to pretend in front of the customers that I don't have British teachers. [R3]

In our school the majority of the teachers we hire come from English-speaking countries. [R5]

Having looked at recruiters' hiring preferences, it is also important to analyse their satisfaction with the 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers they previously hired, which might have an influence on their hiring decisions. Consequently, the recruiter respondents were also asked how pleased they felt with the previously hired 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers on a 5-point Likert scale from *Very pleased* to *Very displeased*. Four out of five ($n=4$; 80%) recruiter respondents have previously hired 'native speaker' teachers, and all ($n=5$; 100%) have hired 'non-native speaker' teachers. The responses are presented in Table 18 and Figure 17 below.

Table 18. Satisfaction With Previously Hired Native and Non-Native Speaker Teachers

	'Native speaker' teachers		'Non-native speaker' teachers	
	No	[%]	No	[%]
Very pleased	2	50	1	20
Pleased	2	50	4	80
Neither pleased nor displeased	0	0	0	0
Displeased	0	0	0	0
Very Displeased	0	0	0	0

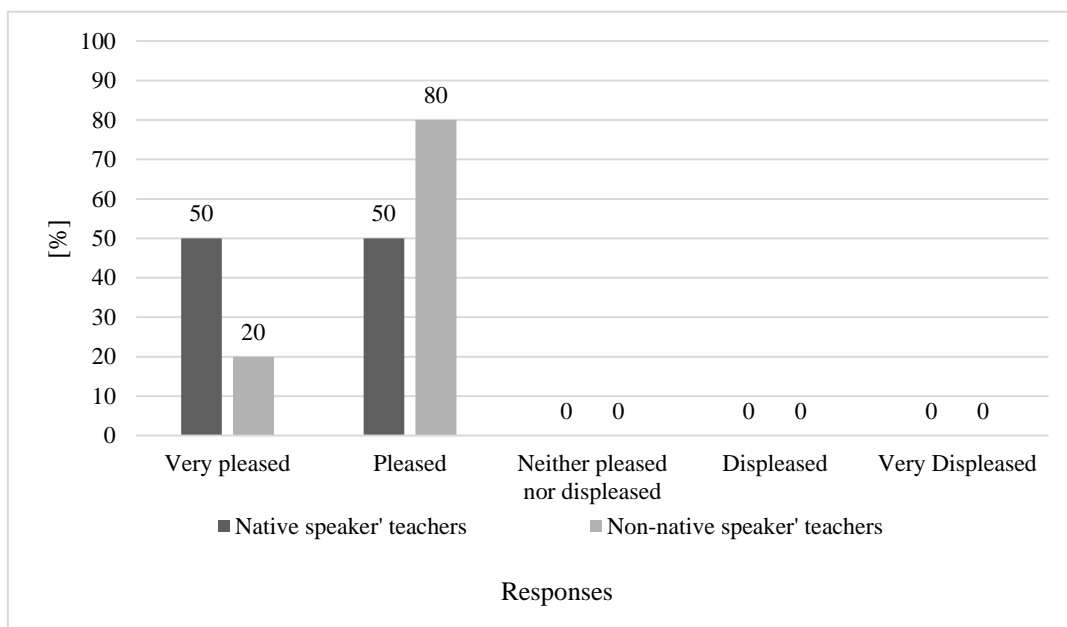


Figure 17. Satisfaction With Previously Hired Native and Non-Native Speaker Teachers

It is clear that the recruiter respondents were overall pleased both with 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers they had hired. It seems, however, that they were slightly more pleased with 'native speaker' teachers than the 'non-native speaker' ones, as two ($n=2$, 50%) selected *Very Pleased* for the former group, while only one ($n=1$, 20%) for the latter. The recruiter respondents could also explain their responses, and these more qualitative data are presented

below as it can shed some light on the reasoning behind the responses shown in Table 18 and Figure 17.

First, one recruiter respondent pointed out that their level of satisfaction with the hired teachers varied depending on each individual, irrespective of that individual's L1:

On average - I am pleased with 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers, but since there are different teachers, sometimes I was very pleased and occasionally displeased. [R6]

This might indicate that the recruiter in question tends to judge their employees by their ability to teach, rather than native speakerist stereotypes. Similarly, two recruiter respondents pointed out that both groups can be good teachers:

'Native speakers' do well at work as teachers, just as 'non-native speakers'. [R7]

'Non-native speaker' teachers complement and supplement 'native speaker' teachers really well. [R9]

This section has presented data on the three cohorts' preferences for 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers. The quantitative results show that there is some preference for 'native speaker' teachers, and that it is the strongest among student respondents. However, qualitative data suggest a more nuanced and complicated picture, whereby the preference can vary from individual to individual. As a result, it is important now to explore the reasons for the three cohorts' attitudes and beliefs about 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers to shed some light on the results presented thus far. These data are discussed in the following section.

4.3 Reasons for Preference for Native Speaker Teachers

This section presents the data concerning the reasons for a preference (or lack thereof) for 'native speaker' teachers among the three cohorts, thus aiming to answer RQ 3. Similarly to the previous sections, the data were also gathered using both quantitative and qualitative means. In total, 88 respondents completed this part of the survey. Fifty-nine ($n=59$) of them were students, 24 were teachers and 5 were recruiters.

This section is divided into four subsections each focusing on one construct or theme following the order in which they appeared on the questionnaire. Since multilevel scale items were used on the questionnaire to gather data on each theme, there are four statements per construct or theme for which qualitative data are presented in each subsection. While these statements might sometimes come across as being very similar or almost identical, multilevel scales increase the reliability of the questionnaire (see 3.3.4.2). First, the three cohorts' views on the use of English only and learners' mother tongue in the classroom are presented. Next, respondents' views on whether they could learn correct or incorrect English from 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers are shown. This is followed by student, teacher and recruiter respondents' perceptions of the role of ELF and SE in teaching. Finally, their attitudes to speaking English like a 'native speaker' are shown. In each subsection, the quantitative results are supported by qualitative ones.

4.3.1 Use of English and Students' L1 in Class

In this part respondents answered four statements concerning their views about the use of English only in class and the use of students' L1, which could be a possible first reason for a preference for 'native speakers' (RQ 3). These statements can be divided into two groups, namely statements about the use of English in class (*In an English class, it is best to use only English; In an English class, it is best when the teacher speaks English at all times*) and the use

of students' mother tongue (*It is helpful when my teacher uses my mother tongue in class; It is unhelpful when my teacher uses my first language in class*). First, the responses concerning the use of English only in class are presented. The responses to the two statements were combined since they showed a high internal consistency ($\alpha=0.86$). The responses to each of the two statements can be found in Table 39 and Figure 36 (see Appendix G). The combined results are presented in Table 19 and Figure 18 below.

Table 19. It Is Best to Use Only English in Class

	Responses					
	Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Strongly Agree	29	49.2	2	8.3	3	60
Agree	19	32.2	10	41.7	1	20
Somewhat Agree	6	10.2	8	33.3	1	20
Neither Agree nor Disagree	2	3.4	3	12.5	0	0
Somewhat Disagree	1	1.7	1	4.2	0	0
Disagree	2	3.4	0	0	0	0
Strongly Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0

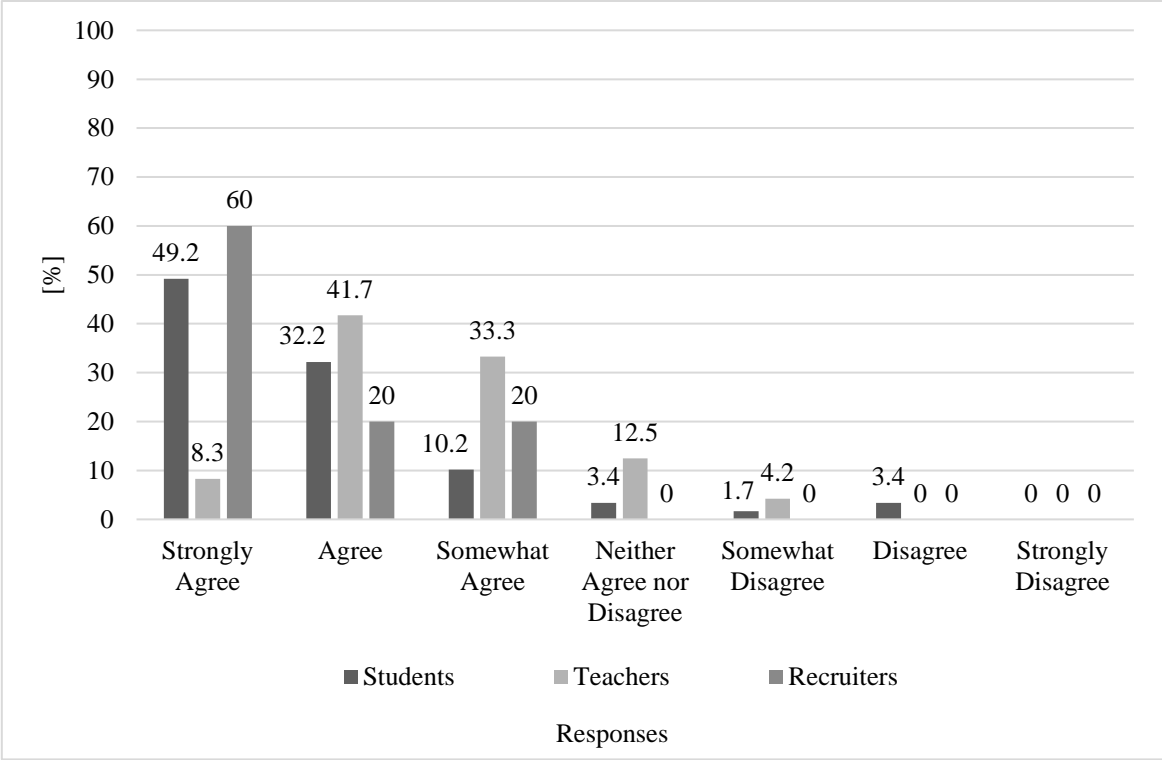


Figure 18. It Is Best to Use English Only in Class

It is clear that most respondents in all three cohorts agreed that an English-only classroom was preferable. For example, all of the recruiter (100%, $n=5$), 91.5 per cent ($n=54$) of all student and 83.3 per cent ($n=20$) of all teacher respondents either strongly agreed, agreed or somewhat agreed. However, one noteworthy difference is the teacher respondents' level of agreement in comparison to that of students and recruiters. While 49.2 per cent ($n=29$) of student and 60 per

cent ($n=3$) of recruiter respondents agreed strongly that it is best to use only English in class, less than a tenth of teachers did so ($n=2$, 8.3%). Kruskal-Wallis test ($\chi^2(2)=15.535$, $p=0.0004$) indicate that there are significant differences between the three groups. Tamhane's T2 test showed that this difference was statistically significant between the responses given by students and teachers ($p=0.006$). Consequently, while the results presented in Table 19 and Figure 18 indicate a strong preference among all three cohorts to use English only in class, this preference is significantly stronger among student respondents, than it is among the teachers.

This could be linked to the high preference for 'native speaker' teachers exhibited by the former group. Indeed, when Pearson correlation test was run, a significant correlation was obtained between students' preference for 'native speaker' teachers and their belief that it is best to use only English ($\rho=0.496$, $p=0.0001$). There was also a negative correlation between this belief and the preference for having classes with 'non-native speaker' teachers ($\rho=-0.436$, $p=0.001$) as well as for being taught both by 'native' and 'non-native speakers' ($r=-0.415$, $p=0.001$). This suggests that addressing in class the belief that English is best learnt through monolingual instruction might lead to more positive attitudes towards 'non-native speaker' teachers. Nevertheless, Spearman test yielded no such correlation ($\rho=0.649$, $p=0.236$) between recruiter respondents' preference for an English-only classroom and their preference for hiring 'native speakers' discussed previously (see 4.2.4). This might be due to the very small sample size ($n=5$).

The preference for the use of English only in class is also evident in the qualitative data. For example, two student interviewees said:

Speak all the time English, only in some translations in Polish. [S11]

It's of much greater help when you're trying to search for the English words in your head, or when you define the words you don't know in English, or try to guess the correct word. This is much more helpful than if someone just gave us the word in Polish. [S3]

Another student interviewee mentioned that having an English only class with a 'native speaker' can allow them to pick up the correct accent:

Because if a 'native speaker' teaches me, I hear the accent as it's supposed to be, and not as it was artificially learnt. [S2]

On the other hand, exposure to inaccurate language can have negative effects, because:

if the language they hear and repeat is not accurate, it's not correct, or the pronunciation is not good, then they are automatically learning bad patterns. [R2]

However, one teacher interviewee considered it a myth that students will pick up a 'native-like' accent if their teacher is a 'native speaker':

There's this myth that having classes with a 'native speaker' will make you speak like a 'native speaker'. [T2]

Nonetheless, one recruiter interviewee recognised that this is a belief people hold:

People think that 'native speaker' language is more natural, that they can attune their ears to it, (...) but you're not going to learn a language through osmosis. [R5]

An English only policy can, however, be motivating for students, as one of the student informants observed:

The teacher speaks in English in the class, not in Polish. This is motivating for us. [S16]

The benefits of an English only classroom were also expressed by two teacher interviewees:

There's also some truth in the idea that having an English only classroom creates an extra need to speak English, minute to minute, motivation, exposure and use. [T1]

[Students] want a person with whom they don't have a choice of speaking Polish. It's more like that. This forces them to communicate in English. [T2]

Similar advantages of having a ‘native speaker’, or a teacher who does not speak the students’ L1, and an English-only class were also expressed by one recruiter interviewee:

A ‘native speaker’ can help break the speaking barrier. And this fear of speaking can sometimes be quite big. Often it is difficult to persuade the student to say a few words in English even though in theory they do know the language. So, being a ‘native speaker’ can help here. Or of the teacher not necessarily is a ‘native speaker’ but is from a different country. [R3]

Another recruiter interviewee also mentioned that some parents think that an English only class will help their children learn English faster:

So, for a lot of parents, they think that OK, this is how my kid learned their first language a few years ago, so it will be perfectly OK if they start learning a new language in the same way as their first language. So, being exposed to a lot of English. [R2]

The qualitative data presented above suggest that some of the interviewees believe that an English only classroom can have certain benefits, such as forcing students to speak in English, for example. The question now is, however, whether the respondents also recognise possible benefits of using students’ L1 in class. The data are shown in Table 20, Figure 19 and Figure 20 below. The responses to the two statements were not combined since there were notable differences between how the three cohorts responded to each of them.

Table 20. Attitudes’ Towards the Use of Students’ L1 in Class

	Helpful						Unhelpful					
	Students		Teachers		Recruiters		Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Strongly Agree	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	8	13.6	1	4.2	0	0
Agree	6	10.2	3	12.5	0	0	7	11.9	3	12.5	2	40
Somewhat Agree	8	13.6	10	41.7	2	40	8	13.6	3	12.5	1	20
Neither Agree nor Disagree	12	20.3	1	4.2	0	0	14	23.7	2	8.3	1	20
Somewhat Disagree	16	27.1	5	20.8	2	40	13	22	12	50	1	20
Disagree	9	15.3	4	16.7	1	20	6	10.2	3	12.5	0	0
Strongly Disagree	8	13.6	1	4.2	0	0	3	5.1	0	0	0	0

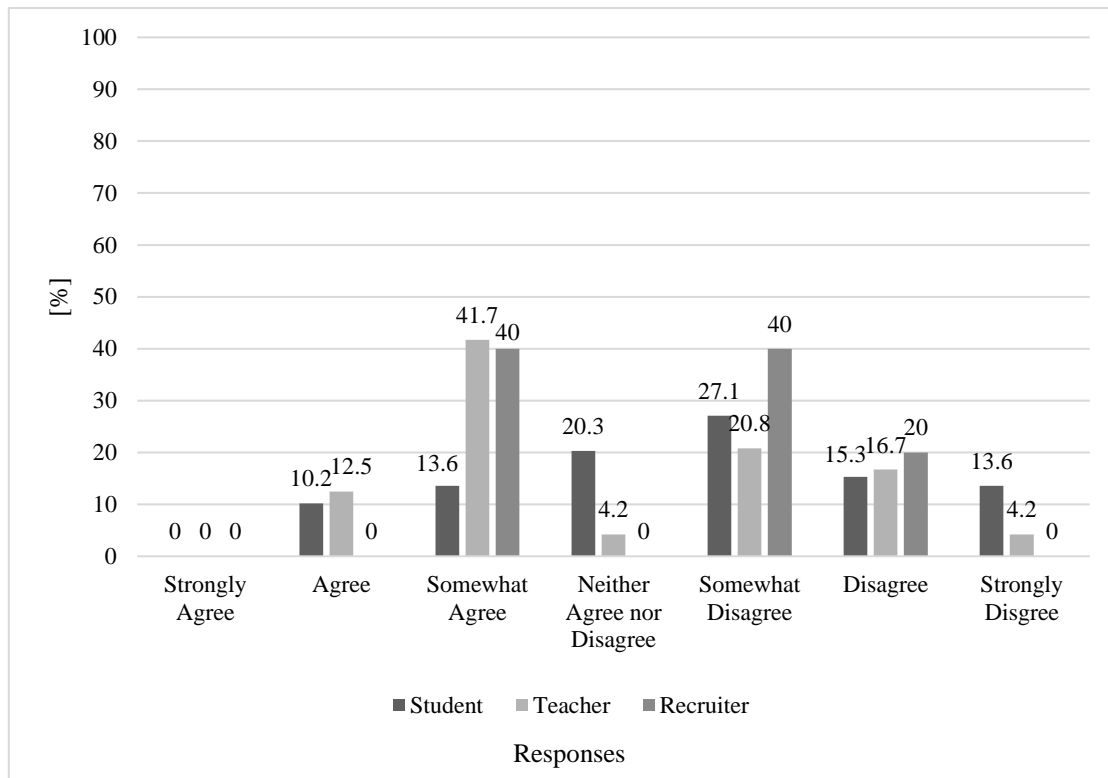


Figure 19. Using Students' L1 in Class Is Helpful

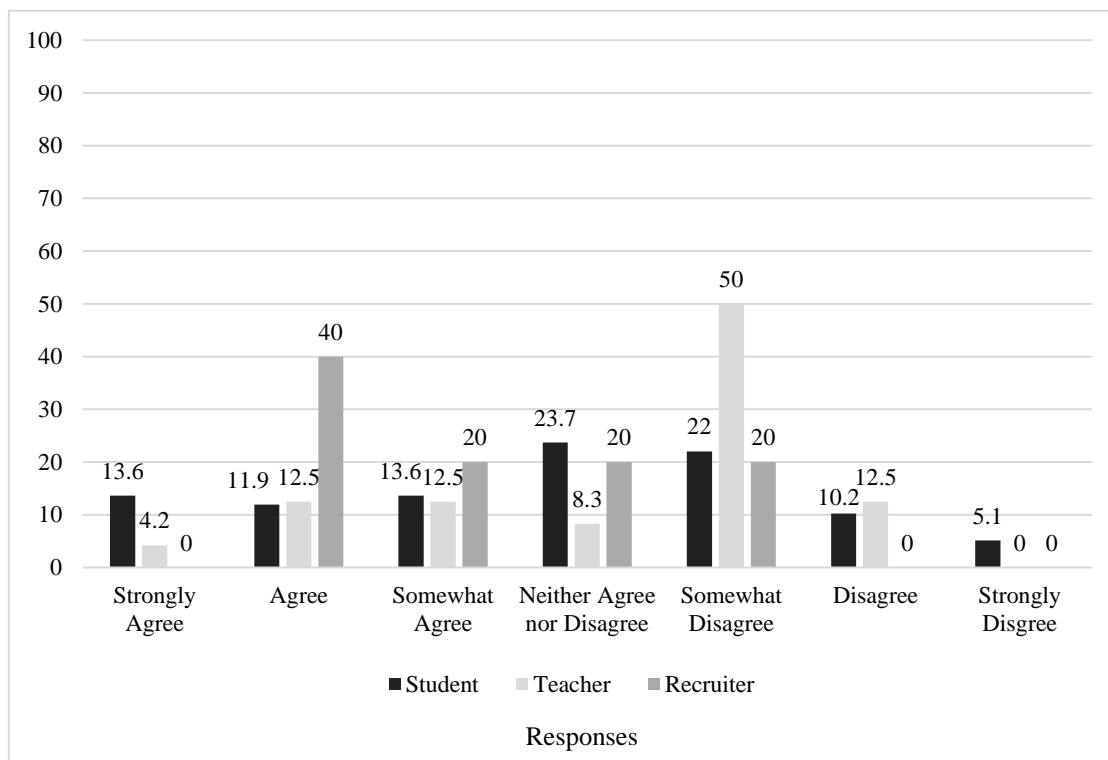


Figure 20. Using Students' L1 in Class Is Unhelpful

First, it is striking that none of the three cohorts strongly agreed that *it is helpful when my teacher uses my mother tongue in class*. Even though over half of the teacher respondents expressed a degree of agreement ($n=13$, 54.2%), the majority of them ($n=10$, 41.7%) agreed only somewhat. Likewise, while less than a quarter ($n=14$, 24.8%) of student respondents somewhat agreed or agreed, none agreed strongly. Second, the majority of student ($n=33$, 55.9%) and recruiter respondents (60%, $n=3$) disagreed that *it is helpful when my teacher uses*

my mother tongue in class. In addition, an important percentage of teacher respondents ($n=10$, 41.7%) either somewhat disagreed, disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement. Kruskal-Wallis ($\chi^2(2)=2.993$, $p=0.224$) test suggests that there were no significant differences between the three groups.

It would seem then that the respondents view using L1 in class as something negative. However, their responses to the statement that *it is unhelpful when my teacher uses my mother tongue in class* shed some doubt on the initial conclusion. For example, it is striking that only one in three student respondents ($n=23$, 39%) agreed that using mother tongue in class was unhelpful. Moreover, a very similar percentage ($n=22$, 37.3%) disagreed. In addition, almost two thirds of teacher respondents ($n=15$, 62.5%) disagreed that using L1 in class was unhelpful. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the disagreement was weak, with 50 per cent ($n=12$) disagreeing somewhat and none disagreeing strongly. Kruskal-Wallis ($\chi^2(2)=2.942$, $p=0.230$) test did not indicate any significant differences between the three cohorts.

The quantitative results presented above might seem slightly inconclusive. On the one hand, respondents do not view using L1 in class as helpful. On the other hand, they also do not view it as unhelpful. Hence, it is now important to present the qualitative data to see if they can shed some light on this question. First, one of the student interviewees mentioned that using L1 in class can help lower-level students:

If someone is on a lower level, and they haven't had much contact with English yet, then clearly help in our mother tongue is both useful and required in order to be able to start at all. [S3]

One teacher and one recruiter interviewee also highlighted the same advantage:

I think using students' first language, perhaps not excessively, but it could definitely be useful, especially for lower levels, when for example the concept or word is too abstract and there is a direct translation, it could be beneficial. [T2]

There are situations when especially older learners on lower levels need that translating to Polish. [R3]

As the teacher interviewee above hinted, knowing students' L1 can also help when teaching vocabulary:

Or if I hear them speaking their L1 to each other about for example what this particular piece of new language means, I can monitor that, I can point them in the right direction or check whether they got the meaning. [T1]

So, a couple of times I've said something in Polish to elicit the English word, maybe by giving the example in Polish. (...) Even something very simple, like tell me what that word is in your language, because if they can all come up with the same word, then you know that they got the explanation. [T4]

The knowledge of students' L1 can also help the teacher anticipate problems with the language students might have:

I can use the knowledge of the language I have to figure out what problems students might be having. [T1]

One teacher interviewee also suggested that use of L1 in class can be helpful when teaching young learners:

When I teach kids, knowing their first language could be very useful too, especially to give them instructions. [T2]

However, two teacher interviewees also emphasised that the teacher should not use the students' L1 too much:

Not all the time, but it could be helpful [T2].

(...) obviously don't resort to [students' L1] all the time. [T4]

This is because an overuse of Polish in classes, as might be the case in some state schools, might hinder students' ability to communicate:

But I teach actually an elementary group of teenagers. And it's the first time they've had a non-Polish teacher, and a sort of non-Polish state school style lesson. So, they're quite shy when it comes to communicating. [T4]

Nevertheless, one recruiter interviewee suggested that it is often faster and more effective for students to ask questions in their L1:

Because if the teacher is Polish, then of course sometimes the students will ask questions in Polish, because it's simpler and faster. [R3]

Finally, two 'native speaker' teacher interviewees pointed out that not all teachers will know students' L1, and therefore using it in class is restricted to those who do:

I can't use my students L1, because I don't know it well enough. [T1]

I don't speak Polish very well. [T4]

These qualitative results, similarly to the quantitative ones, indicate that the interviewees have mixed feelings about using students' L1. Teacher interviewees seem to recognise some of the possible advantages of utilising L1 in the classroom. Nevertheless, as far as student respondents are concerned, using English only in class is preferred. This might be an indication of why student respondents prefer classes with 'native speaker' teachers, since often they will not be able to resort to L1 with those teachers. Indeed, as has been reported earlier in this section, a correlation between these two variables was found ($\rho=0.496$, $p=0.0001$). This might suggest that addressing the benefits of using L1 in the classroom could have a positive influence on students' perceptions of 'non-native speaker' teachers. Consequently, it is possible that some participants might think they can only learn good English from a 'native speaker' teacher. This theme is discussed in the next section.

4.3.2 Learning English from Native and Non-Native Speaker Teachers

A second possible reason for a preference for 'native speaker' teachers might be a belief that only a 'native speaker' can teach correct English. On the other hand, believing that a student will learn bad English from a 'non-native speaker' teacher might explain the negative bias against these teachers observed both in the literature (see 2.4.3 and 2.4.4) and in this study (see 4.2.1). Hence, the participants were asked to what extent they agreed that they will learn good English both from a 'native' and a 'non-native speaker' teacher, that they will learn bad English from a 'non-native speaker' teacher, that a 'native speaker' teacher will teach them better English than a 'non-native speaker' teacher, and finally that they will learn good English from a 'non-native speaker' teacher. Since no qualitative data on these themes was obtained, only the quantitative findings are presented in this section.

As can be seen from Table 21 and Figure 21, most respondents agreed that a student can learn good English both from a 'native' and a 'non-native speaker' teacher.

Table 21. A Student Will Learn Good English Both From a Native and a Non-Native Teacher

	Responses					
	Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Strongly Agree	6	10	8	33.3	0	0
Agree	16	26.7	9	37.5	4	80
Somewhat Agree	21	35	2	8.3	0	0
Neither Agree nor Disagree	11	18.3	3	12.5	1	20
Somewhat Disagree	2	3.3	0	0	0	0
Disagree	3	5	1	4.2	0	0
Strongly Disagree	1	1.7	1	4.2	0	0

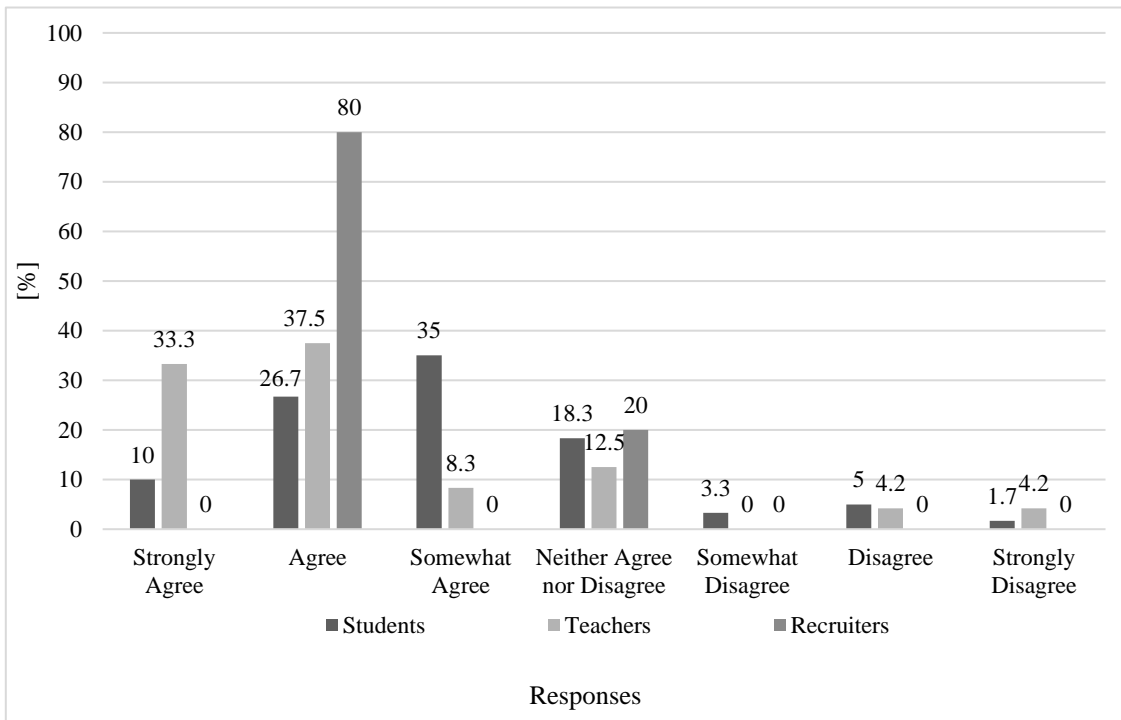


Figure 21. A Student Will Learn Good English Both From a Native and a Non-Native Teacher

For example, 71.7 per cent ($n=43$) of student respondents expressed some degree of agreement, while only 6 (10%) disagreed. It is notable, however, that only 10 per cent ($n=6$) of student respondents agreed strongly, while 35 per cent ($n=21$) agreed somewhat. In contrast, a third ($n=8$, 33.3%) of teacher respondents agreed strongly that a student can learn good English both from a ‘native’ and a ‘non-native speaker’ teacher, while only 8.3 per cent ($n=2$) agreed somewhat. Finally, it is also worth noting that none ($n=0$, 0%) of the recruiter respondents disagreed, and four out of five ($n=4$, 80%) agreed, with the remaining one ($n=1$, 20%) neither agreeing nor disagreeing. This might indicate that teacher and recruiter were much more certain about this issue than the students.

Kruskal-Wallis ($\chi^2(2)=6.848$, $p=0.033$) test showed these differences to be significant. More specifically, Tamhane’s T2 test indicated that the difference was statistically significant ($p=0.025$) between teacher and student respondents, meaning that the former agreed

significantly more strongly than did the latter that a student could learn good English both from a ‘native’ and a ‘non-native speaker’ teacher. This is in line with the results which indicated that student respondents had a stronger preference for ‘native speaker’ teachers (see 4.2.1) and for being taught only in English (see 4.3.1).

In addition, there was a significant positive correlation between student respondents’ belief that they could learn good English both from ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers, and their preference for having classes with teachers from both groups ($\rho=0.562, p=0.00003$), as well as for having classes with ‘non-native speaker’ teachers ($\rho=0.318, p=0.013$). On the other hand, this belief correlated negatively with student respondents’ preference for having classes with ‘native speaker’ teachers ($\rho=-0.340, p=0.008$). This could suggest that addressing the negative beliefs about ‘non-native speaker’ teachers which students might have could lead to diminishing their prejudice against this group.

Since the respondents seem to be in agreement that both ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers can teach students good English, it would probably mean that they would disagree that students will learn bad English from a ‘non-native speaker’ teacher. This is indeed the case as the results presented in Table 22 and Figure 22 indicate.

Table 22. A Student Will Learn Bad English From a Non-Native Speaker Teacher

	Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Strongly Agree	1	1.7	0	0	0	0
Agree	1	1.7	0	0	0	0
Somewhat Agree	2	3.3	1	4.2	0	0
Neither Agree nor Disagree	10	16.7	1	4.2	2	40
Somewhat Disagree	18	30	1	4.2	2	40
Disagree	14	23.3	9	37.5	1	20
Strongly Disagree	14	23.3	12	50	0	0

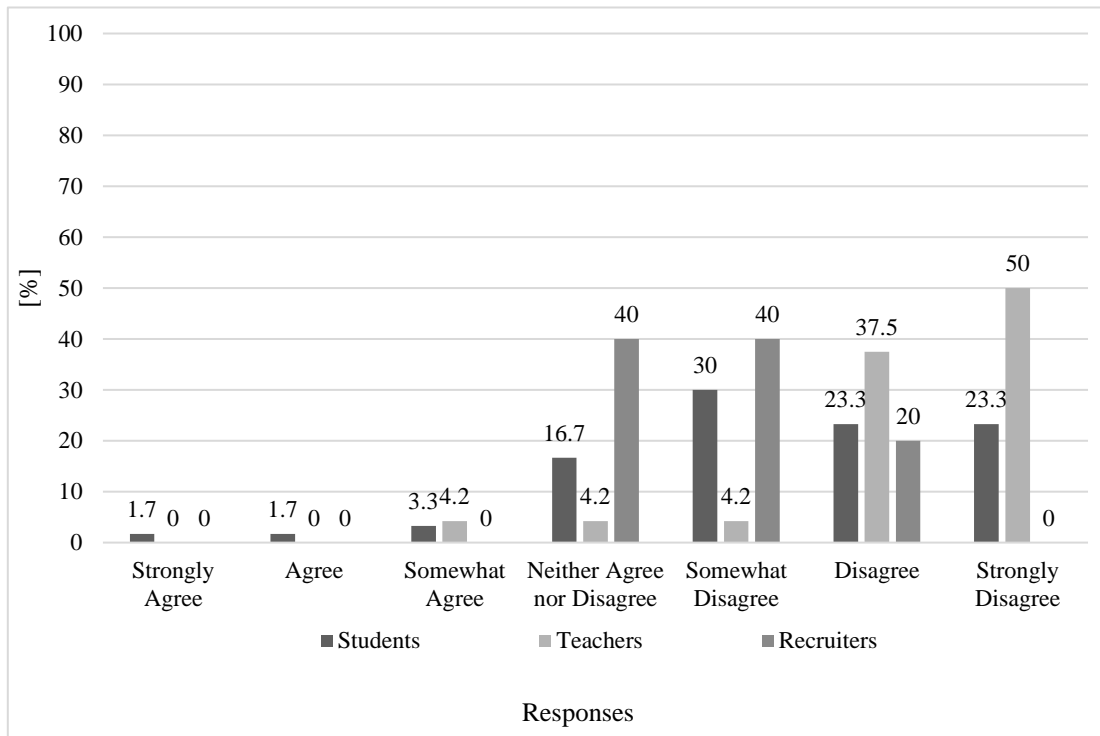


Figure 22. A Student Will Learn Bad English From a Non-Native Speaker Teacher

First, it is notable that none of the recruiter ($n=0$, 0%), 1 teacher (4.2%) and 4 student respondents (6.7%) agreed that learners can learn bad English from ‘non-native speaker’ teachers. As far as disagreement with this statement is concerned, it is worth noting that exactly half ($n=12$, 50%) of the surveyed teachers strongly disagreed and 37.5 per cent ($n=9$) disagreed. On the other hand, less than a quarter ($n=14$, 23.3%) of the students disagreed strongly, but a third ($n=18$, 30%) disagreed somewhat. Kruskal-Wallis ($\chi^2(2)=12.378$, $p=0.002$) test showed significant differences between the three cohorts. Tamhane’s T2 test further shows that it is the responses of students and teachers that differ significantly ($p=0.01$). Therefore, while these results indicate that all three groups seem to disagree that a ‘non-native speaker’ teacher will teach students bad English, this disagreement is significantly weaker among student, than among teacher respondents. This weaker disagreement among the former cohort could be correlated with their stronger preference for ‘native speaker’ teachers. Nevertheless, no such correlation was found ($\rho=0.055$, $p=0.682$).

However, the opposite question could also be posed, namely to what extent the respondents agreed or disagreed that they will learn good English from a ‘non-native speaker’ teacher. The results pertaining to this question are presented in Table 23 and Figure 23 below.

Table 23. A Student Will Learn Good English From a Non-Native Speaker Teacher

	Responses					
	Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Strongly Agree	6	10	3	12.5	0	0
Agree	12	20	9	37.5	3	60
Somewhat Agree	24	40	5	20.8	2	40
Neither Agree nor Disagree	11	18.3	5	20.8	0	0
Somewhat Disagree	3	5	0	0	0	0
Disagree	2	3.3	1	4.2	0	0
Strongly Disagree	2	3.3	1	4.2	0	0

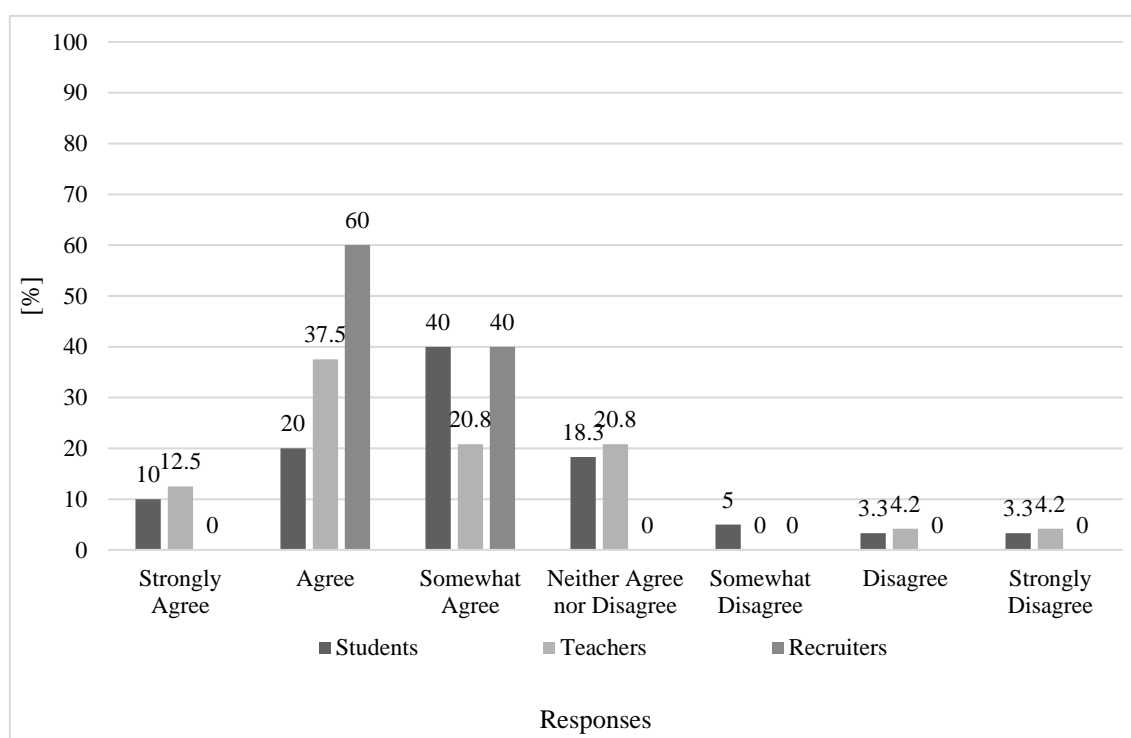


Figure 23. A Student Will Learn Good English From a Non-Native Speaker Teacher

Overall, it is clear that the vast majority of respondents agreed that a student will learn good English from a ‘non-native speaker’ teacher. For example, 100 per cent ($n=5$) of recruiter, 70.8 per cent ($n=17$) of teacher and 70 per cent ($n=42$) of student respondents either somewhat agreed, agreed or strongly agreed. Nevertheless, it is worth pointing out that the agreement was weaker among student respondents than it was among the teachers or recruiters, with two fifths ($n=24$, 40%) of students agreeing somewhat and one fifth agreeing ($n=12$, 40%), as opposed to a fifth ($n=5$, 20.8%) of teacher respondents who somewhat agreed and two fifths ($n=9$, 37.5%) who agreed.

Although these differences between the three cohorts are neither significant according to Kruskal-Wallis test ($\chi^2(2)=2.444$, $p=0.295$); they are in line with the data shown previously in Table 22 and Figure 23, which showed that it was the teacher and recruiter respondents who disagreed most strongly that a student will learn good English from a ‘non-native speaker’ teacher. Finally, a significant correlation ($\rho=0.265$, $p=0.042$) was detected between student

respondents' belief that a 'non-native speaker' will teach them good English and their preference for these teachers. This might suggest that addressing students' possible negative beliefs about 'non-native speaker' teachers' proficiency can have a positive impact on their preference for this group of teachers. Nevertheless, the belief that a student will learn good English from a 'non-native speaker' teacher did not correlate with a lower preference for 'native speaker' teachers ($\rho=-0.180, p=0.171$), which might show how deeply embedded the belief in the superiority of 'native speaker' teachers is.

Finally, the respondents were also asked to what extent they agreed or disagreed that a 'native speaker' will teach students better English than a 'non-native speaker'. As can be seen in Table 24 and Figure 24, the overall responses are split quite evenly between the respondents who agreed and those who disagreed.

Table 24. A Native Speaker Teacher Will Teach Students Better English Than a Non-Native

	Responses					
	Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Strongly Agree	7	11.7	1	4.2	0	0
Agree	10	16.7	0	0	2	40
Somewhat Agree	12	20	0	0	1	20
Neither Agree nor Disagree	12	20	8	33.3	1	20
Somewhat Disagree	9	15	4	16.7	0	0
Disagree	6	10	4	16.7	1	20
Strongly Disagree	4	6.7	7	29.2	0	0

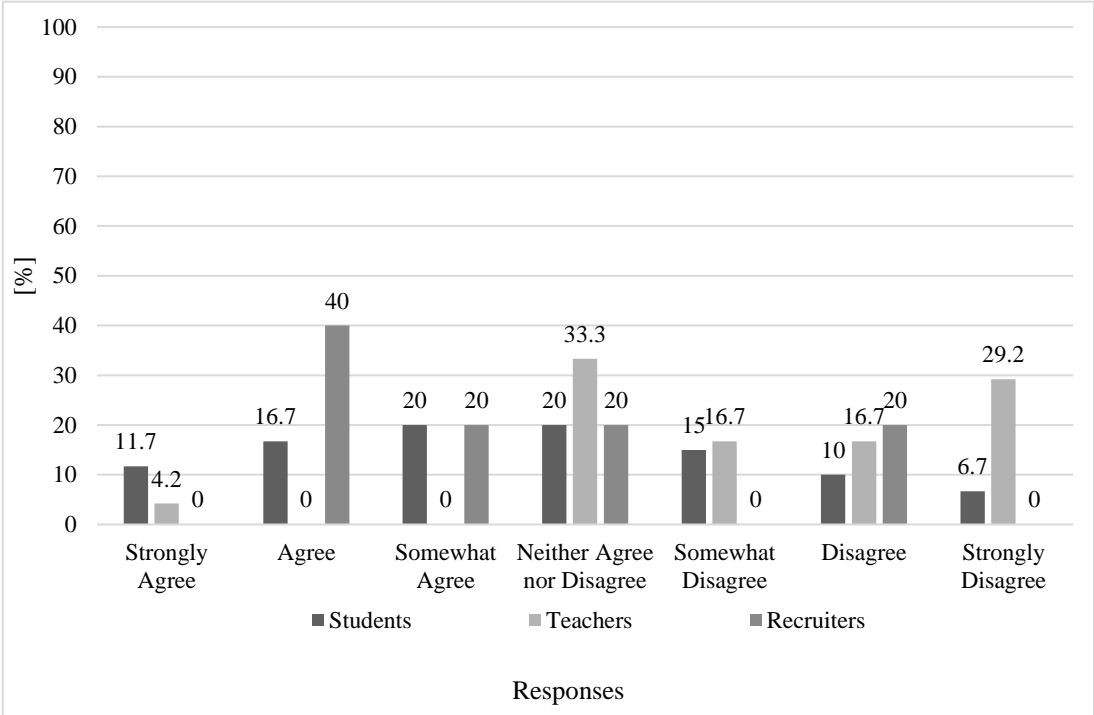


Figure 24. A Native Speaker Teacher Will Teach Students Better English Than a Non-Native

However, when the responses of each of the cohorts are analysed individually, some important differences emerge. For example, it is noteworthy that only 1 (4.2%) teacher respondent

expressed any degree of agreement with the idea that a ‘native speaker’ will teach students better English than a ‘non-native speaker’. On the other hand, almost two thirds ($n=15$, 62.5%) of the teacher respondents either somewhat disagreed, disagreed or strongly disagreed. It is also important to point out that a third ($n=8$, 33.3%) of teacher respondents remained undecided. This is in sharp contrast to student respondents, almost half of whom ($n=29$, 48.3%) either somewhat agreed, agreed or strongly agreed that a ‘native speaker’ will teach them better English than a ‘non-native speaker’. While almost a third ($n=19$, 31.7%) disagreed, only 6.7 per cent ($n=4$) of student respondents disagreed strongly, as opposed to 29.2 per cent ($n=7$) of the surveyed teachers. Finally, three out of five ($n=3$, 60%) recruiter respondents agreed, while 1 (20%) remained undecided and 1 (20%) disagreed.

These differences between the three cohorts result to be significant when Kruskal-Wallis ($\chi^2(2)=14.228$, $p=0.001$) test was run. Tamhane’s T2 test indicated that it was students’ and teachers’ responses that differed significantly ($p=0.001$). Consequently, it seems that is the student respondents who agree more strongly than the teacher respondents that a ‘native speaker’ will teach them better English than a ‘non-native speaker’.

This might explain their preference for being taught by a ‘native speaker’ teacher (see 4.2.1). Nevertheless, no correlation ($\rho=614$, $p=0.07$) between student respondents’ belief that a ‘native speaker’ teacher will teach them better English than a ‘non-native speaker’ and their preference for a ‘native speaker’ was found. Hence, it seems appropriate to explore another area that might explain the attitudes the participants have towards ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers is their beliefs about the English language itself, and whether they see it as a global lingua franca, or rather as a foreign language belonging to ‘native speakers’. This is explored in the following section.

4.3.3 Global Nature of the English Language

Having analysed respondents’ attitudes to the use of English only and L1 in class, this section focuses on another possible reason for a preference for ‘native speakers’ in order to answer RQ 3. Namely, it explores the respondents’ beliefs about the English language itself to explore whether its global status is recognised. More specifically, the respondents were asked to consider whether teachers should focus on international English, whether some varieties of English are better than others, whether only the English used by a ‘native speaker’ is a correct version of the language, and finally whether Indian English should be considered incorrect English. Indian English was chosen here as an example of an Outer Circle English, against which there is documented negative bias in ELT (see 2.1.4). The quantitative results are presented first, followed by the qualitative findings.

Table 25 and Figure 25 below shows respondents' attitudes as to whether the English that is learnt and taught in class should be international English.

Table 25. The English Learnt and Taught in Class Should Be International English

	Responses					
	Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Strongly Agree	7	11.9	3	12.5	0	0
Agree	22	37.3	8	33.3	2	40
Somewhat Agree	13	22	6	25	1	20
Neither Agree nor Disagree	8	13.6	4	16.7	1	20
Somewhat Disagree	5	8.5	2	8.3	1	20
Disagree	2	3.4	1	4.2	0	0
Strongly Disagree	2	3.4	0	0	0	0

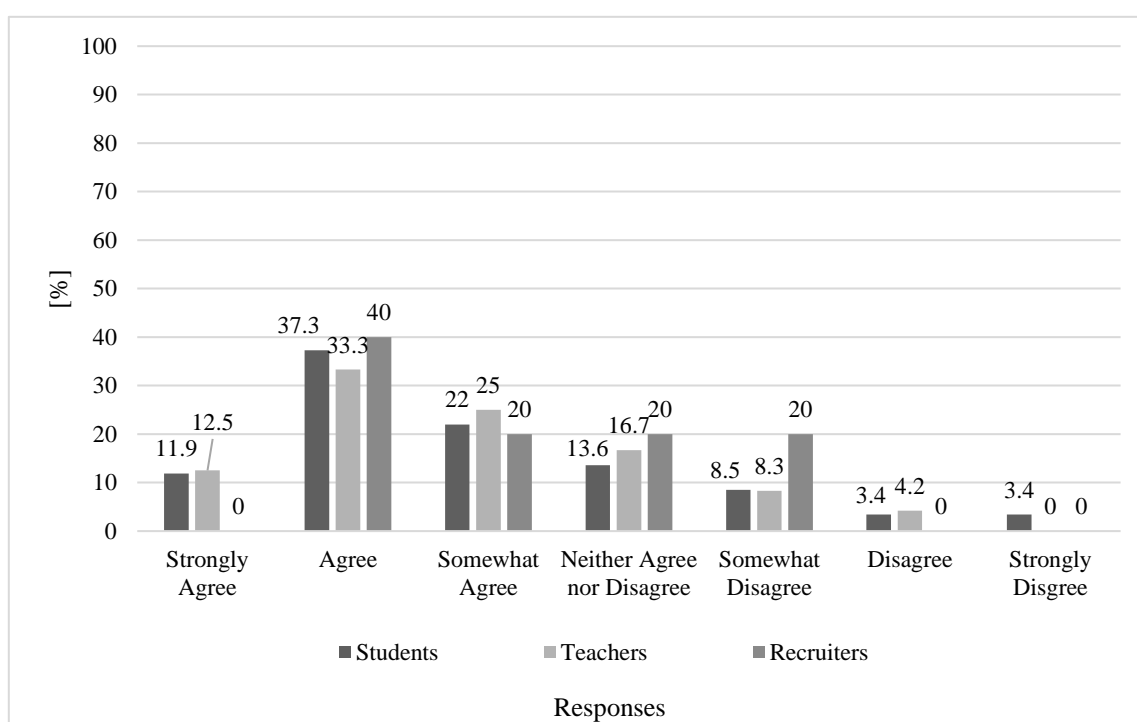


Figure 25. The English Learnt and Taught in Class Should Be International English

It seems that most respondents from the three cohorts agreed that the English taught and learnt in class should be international English. Namely, 71.2 per cent ($n=42$) of student respondents, 70.8 per cent ($n=17$) of teachers and 60 per cent ($n=3$) of recruiters either somewhat agreed, agreed or strongly agreed. As far as disagreement is concerned, it is important to note that only 15.3 per cent ($n=9$) of student respondents, 12.5 per cent ($n=3$) of teachers and 20 per cent ($n=1$) of recruiters expressed any degree of disagreement. In addition, none of the teacher or recruiter respondents ($n=0$, 0%), and only 2 (3.4%) of the student respondents disagreed strongly with the statement. Kruskal-Wallis test ($\chi^2(2)=0.347$, $p=0.841$) shows that there are no significant differences between the three cohorts.

Hence, the quantitative data presented in Table 25 and Figure 25 might indicate that most respondents believe they should learn and be taught international English. Nevertheless, it should be highlighted here that since the term international English was not defined, it is possible that the respondents ascribed different meaning to it, which might have led to skewed results.

To an extent, this is also reflected by the qualitative data. For example, one of the student interviewees acknowledged that most people use English in lingua franca contexts:

I understand that many people now use English in situations where there are no 'native speakers'.
[S2]

Another student interviewee mentioned that they were not interested in learning a particular 'native speaker' variety of English, but that instead they most valued the ability to communicate successfully in the language:

I don't really care about speaking like a Brit, for example. I care much more about learning to communicate in this language, than having a typically British or Australian or American vocabulary, for example. [S3]

The lingua franca nature of English was also recognised by one of the teacher interviewees:

[Students] aren't necessarily learning English to communicate with Brits, Americans, Australians, but more for lingua franca purposes. [T1]

However, another teacher interviewee highlighted that it is vital to take students' goals into account, which sometimes might also mean exposing them to a particular 'native speaker' variety:

I guess it depends on what situation the student is going to use the English in. That's the crux of it. So, if they're say going to live in Manchester or York, they need to be familiar with what accents they're going to hear in that place to be able to reproduce it and understand people. [T3]

This was echoed by another teacher interviewee who also added that since English is a global language, a 'non-native speaker' can be a very good model of it:

But then again it's about the student's purpose for learning the language. If they mean to speak English as a global language, then even a German speaking English, for example would be a great model. [T2]

Finally, one recruiter interviewee mentioned that since most students are likely to use English with other 'non-native speakers', it is important to expose them to different L2 variants of English:

What might happen in real life is that people learn the language, they are preparing for different job situations where they will have to communicate in English, there is a high chance they'll have to communicate with other 'non-native speakers' who use English differently. So actually, I think it's a very good idea to expose our students to different Englishes, because it might be quite useful for them in the future. [R2]

The qualitative data presented above might indicate that the interviewees are aware and quite supportive of the idea that English should be taught as a global lingua franca. However, it is also worth exploring whether they might still consider a 'native speaker' as the only valid model of the English language, which was the next statement in this part of the questionnaire. The responses to this statement are presented in Table 26 and Figure 26.

Table 26. Only English Used by a Native Speaker Is Correct English

	Responses					
	Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Strongly Agree	2	3.4	0	0	0	0
Agree	1	1.7	0	0	0	0
Somewhat Agree	4	6.8	1	4.2	1	20
Neither Agree nor Disagree	17	28.8	2	8.3	2	40
Somewhat Disagree	20	33.9	4	16.7	1	20
Disagree	13	22.0	8	33.3	1	20
Strongly Disagree	2	3.4	9	37.5	0	0

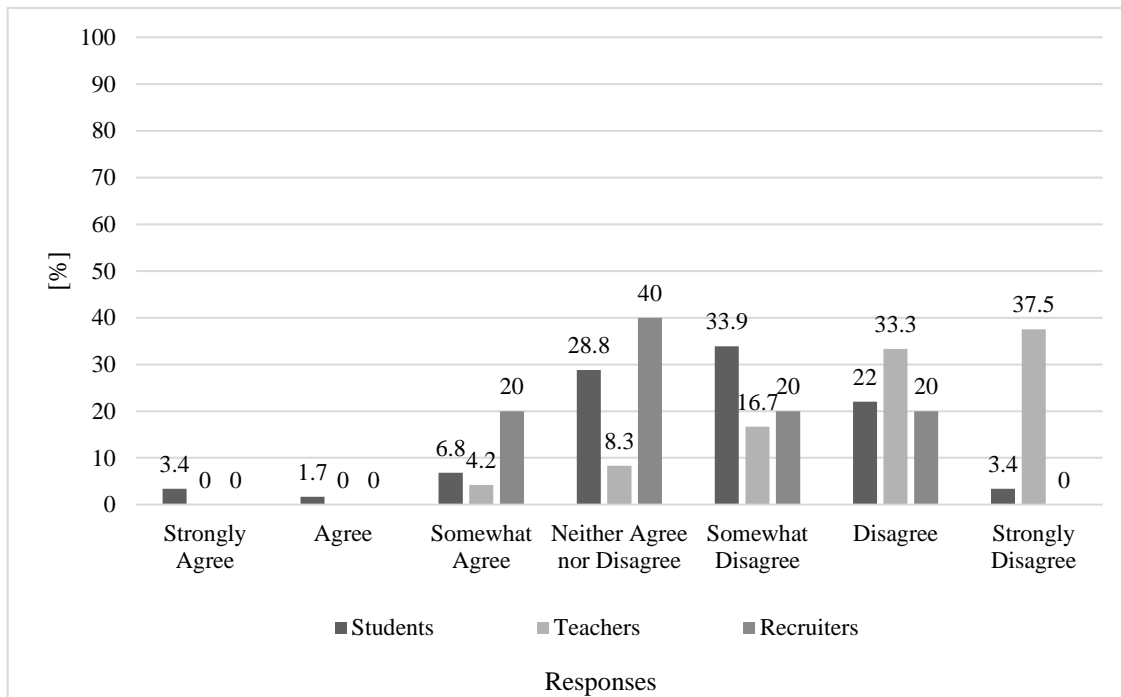


Figure 26. Only English Used by a Native Speaker Is Correct English

Overall, it is clear that the respondents disagree that only English used by a ‘native speaker’ should be viewed as correct. However, the strongest disagreement with this statement can be found among teacher respondents, with almost nine in ten ($n=21$, 87.5%) expressing some degree of disagreement. There were fewer student than teacher respondents who disagreed ($n=35$, 59.3%), and many more of them remained undecided ($n=17$, 28.8%) - in contrast to 8.3 per cent ($n=2$) of teacher respondents. Two ($n=2$, 40%) recruiter respondents disagreed, but none disagreed strongly. There were also 2 (40%) recruiter respondents who neither agreed nor disagreed.

These differences between the three cohorts were found to be significant when Kruskal-Wallis test ($\chi^2(2)=17.504$, $p=0.0001$) was applied. Tamhane’s T2 test indicated that the difference was significant between teacher and student respondents ($p=0.0002$). All in all,

although these results suggest that all three cohorts disagreed that only English used by a ‘native speaker’ is correct English, this disagreement was significantly stronger among teacher respondents than it was among student respondents, an important proportion of whom remained undecided.

It is also important to note that a negative correlation was observed between the belief that only English used by a ‘native speaker’ is correct English and the beliefs that a student can learn good English both from a ‘native’ and a ‘non-native speaker’ teacher ($\rho=-0.333$, $p=0.002$) and that a ‘non-native speaker’ can teach good English ($\rho=-0.321$, $p=0.002$). In addition, a positive correlation was detected between the belief that only English used by a ‘native speaker’ is correct English and that a student will learn bad English from a ‘non-native speaker’ teacher ($\rho=0.442$, $p=0.00001$) and that a ‘native speaker’ will teach students better English than a ‘non-native speaker’ ($\rho=0.584$, $p=0.0001$). This suggests that believing that only English used by a ‘native speaker’ is correct English might further reinforce both other negative beliefs about ‘non-native speakers’ and the positive ones about ‘native speakers’. Moreover, believing that only a ‘native speaker’ uses English correctly is also correlated with a preference for ‘native speaker’ teachers ($\rho=0.356$, $p=0.001$), and negatively correlated with the preference for ‘non-native speaker’ teachers ($\rho=-0.182$, $p=0.009$).

The aforementioned discrepancy between teacher respondents’ views on the one hand, and student and recruiter respondents’ on the other can also be noted in the qualitative data. For example, one student interviewee expressed a desire to speak English like a ‘native speaker’ highlighting that ‘native speakers’ use the language beautifully:

I'd really want to, I really wish to speak as fluently as a 'native speaker', being able to weave in different phrasal verbs and idioms, and use the language so nicely, fluently and beautifully. [S2]

Another student interviewee mentioned that ‘non-native speakers’ tend to use more simple language, which does not mean incorrect, but might indicate that this use is inferior to that of a ‘native speaker’:

And if someone learned the language and uses it for tourist purposes, so to say, then of course they speak using simple language. [S3]

On the other hand, one of the teacher interviewees recognised that some ‘native speakers’ also make mistakes and deviate from what could be considered as correct SE:

Where I'm from in Kent, it's quite common to say we was. And obviously my students say that and I have to correct them, because as they said to me, we're not allowed to speak like that, because they have to do exams and things like that. [T4]

One recruiter interviewee also pointed out that ‘native speakers’ are not always easy to understand because they do not grade or use their language appropriately:

English being used primarily among people for whom English isn't the first language, they all get along communicating well, completely understanding what's going on, until a 'native speaker' comes into the room and starts throwing phrasal verbs about, and not grading their language appropriately, and communication breaks down. [R4]

As a result, some ‘native speakers’ might not necessarily be good models of the language for students:

I don't think 'native speakers are better language models for students. [T3]

This is exemplified well by this anecdote that one teacher interviewee shared:

Our centre manager in Hong Kong specifically asked for a British teacher, they got this colleague from Northern Ireland who had such a strong accent that even we sometimes didn't understand fully what she was talking about. [T4]

Finally, two teacher interviewees expressed their doubts whether the ‘native speaker’ should be the language goal for the students:

I'd never expect my students to be speaking like a 'native speaker'. That's actually even I think cruel, because it's almost impossible. It's really hard. Students are not exposed to the language enough, they aren't exposed to 'native speakers', they aren't inserted into the community. So, it's really hard for students, and for a teacher to expect them to speak like 'native speakers', that's harsh. [T2]

Sometimes I think to myself that some of these natural 'native-like' phrases or idioms that I'm teaching, are my students ever going to use them or need them? Probably not. If they ever meet 'native speakers', they probably won't be talking about the topics where they can use this sort of idioms. So, while it can be good for 1-1 students, for example, I'm not sure if it makes much of a difference in general. [T4]

Consequently, it is important now to see to what extent participants agreed or disagreed that *Some varieties of English are better than others*. As shown in Table 27 and Figure 27 below, the answers to this question are spread fairly evenly.

Table 27. Some Varieties of English Are Better Than Others

	Responses					
	Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Strongly Agree	2	3.4	0	0	0	0
Agree	5	8.5	2	8.3	2	40
Somewhat Agree	10	16.9	3	12.5	1	20
Neither Agree nor Disagree	22	37.3	3	12.5	0	0
Somewhat Disagree	10	16.9	3	12.5	1	20
Disagree	6	10.2	7	29.2	1	20
Strongly Disagree	4	6.8	6	25	0	0

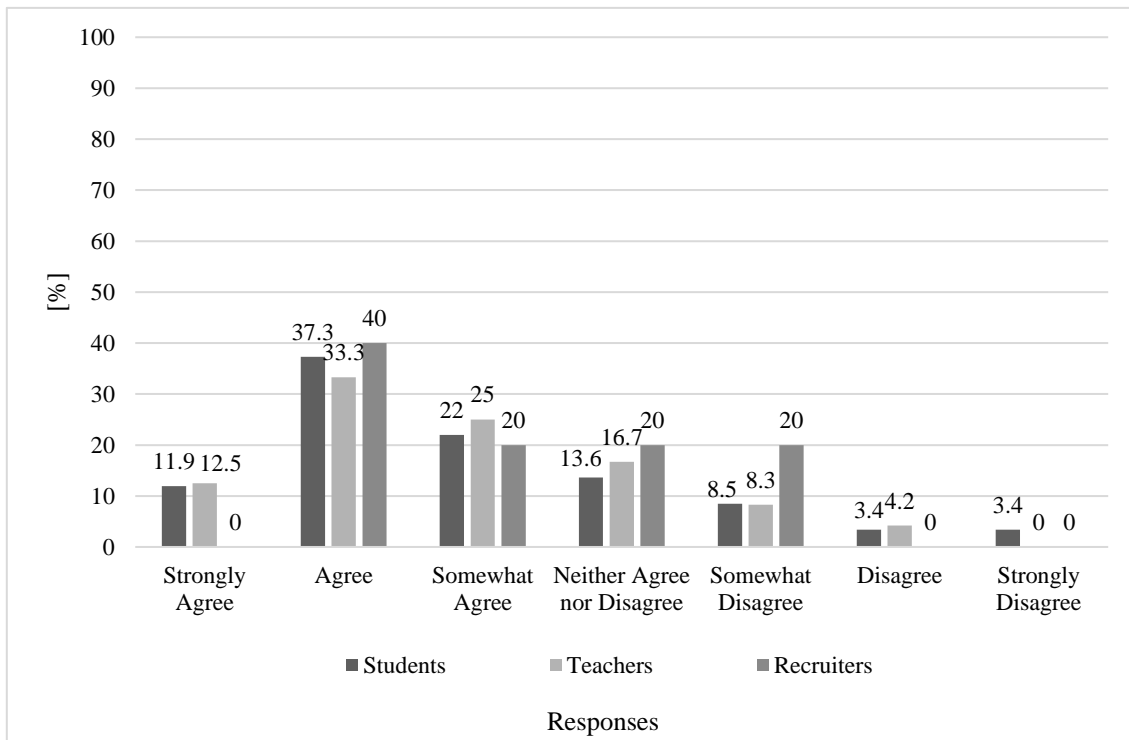


Figure 27. Some Varieties of English Are Better Than Others

First, it is striking that 60 per cent ($n=3$) of the recruiter respondents either agreed or somewhat agreed, in comparison to 28.8 per cent ($n=17$) of student and 20.8 per cent ($n=5$) of teacher respondents. By far the strongest disagreement that some varieties of English are better than others was expressed by teacher respondents ($n=16$, 66.7%). In contrast, two out of five recruiters ($n=2$, 40%) and one in three students ($n=20$, 33.7%) either somewhat disagreed, disagreed or strongly disagreed with this statement. Finally, the highest number of undecided respondents can be found among students ($n=22$, 37.3%) - as opposed to 12.5 per cent ($n=3$) of teachers and 0 per cent ($n=0$) of recruiters.

These differences are statistically significant according to Kruskal-Wallis ($\chi^2(2)=8.152$, $p=0.017$) test. Tamhane's T2 test further showed that this difference was significant between teacher and student respondents ($p=0.033$). These results seem to show that some respondents might still consider certain varieties of English to be more prestigious, despite the fact that they acknowledge that English is an international language, and that not only English used by a 'native speaker' is correct English. This feeling seems to be significantly stronger among student respondents than it is among the teachers, which is in line with the results discussed previously in this section (see Table 26 and Figure 26).

In addition, it is noteworthy that there exists a correlation between on the one hand the belief that some varieties of English are better than others, and the idea that a student will learn bad English from a 'non-native speaker' ($\rho=0.310$, $p=0.003$) and that a 'native speaker' will teach them better English than a 'non-native speaker' ($\rho=0.378$, $p=0.0003$). It is very likely that the belief in superiority of some varieties of English over others would also intensify the preference for 'native speaker' teachers. Indeed, such a correlation can be noted ($\rho=0.291$, $p=0.006$). This suggests that addressing this belief in the classroom or teacher training courses through appropriate pedagogical tasks could potentially lead to less negative attitudes towards 'non-native speaker' teachers.

While the interviewees did not express their opinions on this matter, there was one comment made by a student informant during the focus group interviews which can indicate that some students see certain accents or Englishes as worse than others:

The teacher cannot have Scottish accent [laughter from the whole group]. [S6]

To shed further light on this, the next statement in this part of the questionnaire focused on a particular variety of Outer Circle English in order to see whether participants would view it as an example of correct or incorrect English. The results are presented in Table 28 and Figure 28.

Table 28. Indian English Is an Example of Incorrect English

	Responses					
	Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Strongly Agree	2	3.4	0	0	0	0
Agree	3	5.1	0	0	0	0
Somewhat Agree	5	8.5	2	8.3	1	20
Neither Agree nor Disagree	36	61.0	2	8.3	3	60
Somewhat Disagree	6	10.2	4	16.7	1	20
Disagree	7	11.9	11	45.8	0	0
Strongly Disagree	0	0	5	20.8	0	0

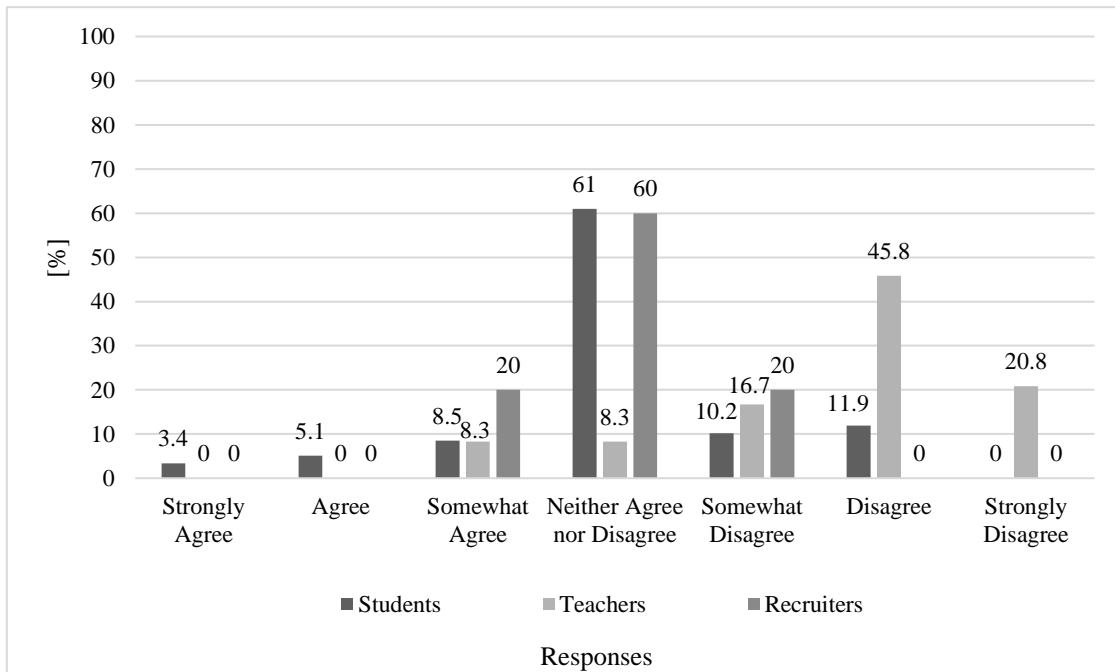


Figure 28. Indian English Is an Example of Incorrect English

There are some important differences between the responses of the three cohorts. First, it is striking that two thirds of student ($n=36$, 61%) and recruiter respondents ($n=3$, 60%) neither agreed nor disagreed. This is in contrast to less than a tenth ($n=2$, 8.3%) of teacher respondents who remained undecided. In addition, most teacher respondents ($n=20$, 83.3%) either somewhat disagreed, disagreed or strongly disagreed that *Indian English is an example of incorrect English*. On the other hand, less than a quarter ($n=13$, 22%) of student and a fifth of recruiter respondents ($n=1$, 20%) expressed some degree of disagreement, with none of the two groups disagreeing strongly. It is also notable that only 2 (8.3%) teacher and 1 (20%) recruiter respondents somewhat agreed, with none of them agreeing or agreeing strongly. This contrasts

with 10 (17%) student respondents who expressed some degree of agreement with the statement.

The aforementioned differences were statistically significant according to Kruskal-Wallis ($\chi^2(2)=25.623$, $p=0.000003$) test. Tamhane's T2 test showed that the differences were significant both between teacher and student respondents ($p=0.00004$). This indicates that the student respondents are significantly less certain whether Indian English is an example of correct or incorrect English, possibly due to the fact they have never heard it or thought about the matter before. The majority of the teacher respondents, on the other hand, disagreed that Indian English is an example of incorrect English, which might show they are much more tolerant of Outer Circle varieties possibly due to greater exposure to them. This is reflected in this comment from one teacher interviewee who described a particular Indian accent from the UK as "lovely":

I remember when I lived in Birmingham, there's this lovely Brummy Indian accent. They're like third generation Indian, so completely 'native speakers', but they have this accent which is a combination of Brummy and Indian. And it's quite interesting to listen to actually. And I suppose maybe you wouldn't necessarily say they're 'native speakers' if you heard them, unless you're from England. [T4]

It is important to note that the belief in the incorrectness of Indian English correlates with the beliefs previously discussed in this section, namely, with the belief that only English spoken by 'native speakers' is correct ($\rho=0.565$, $p=0.0001$) and that some varieties of English are better than others ($\rho=0.548$, $p=0.001$). It is also both correlated with the belief that 'native speakers' will teach students better English than 'non-native speakers' ($\rho=0.378$, $p=0.0002$) and with a preference for 'native speaker' teachers ($\rho=0.345$, $p=0.001$). This might also suggest that neither is someone from India regarded as a real 'native speaker' (as someone from the UK might be), nor is their English seen as equally authentic. Bearing in mind the comment from the qualitative strand presented above, it is likely that when judging someone's English, the issue of accent is a very important one. What might also be evident in this comment is that there is a certain idea about what qualifies as a British or English accent and what does not. These issues are explored in the following section.

4.3.4 Native-Like Accent and Pronunciation

In this section respondents had to answer two questions concerning the acceptability of speaking English with a foreign accent (*It is acceptable to speak English with a foreign accent; Students should try to reduce their first language accent when speaking English*), and two which focused on whether 'native-like' language use should be considered the learning goal for students (*Students should aim to speak English like a NES; Speaking English like a NES should be the goal for students*). These questions were designed to probe the fourth possible reason for a preference for 'native speaker' teachers and further shed light on RQ 3. The quantitative findings for each of the statements are presented first, followed by qualitative data.

First, Table 29 and Figure 29 below show participants' responses to the statement *it is acceptable to speak English with a foreign accent*.

Table 29. It Is Acceptable to Speak English With a Foreign Accent

	Responses					
	Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Strongly Agree	7	11.9	11	45.8	0	0
Agree	19	32.2	10	41.7	5	100
Somewhat Agree	16	27.1	3	12.5	0	0
Neither Agree nor Disagree	5	8.5	0	0	0	0
Somewhat Disagree	6	10.2	0	0	0	0
Disagree	3	5.1	0	0	0	0
Strongly Disagree	3	5.1	0	0	0	0

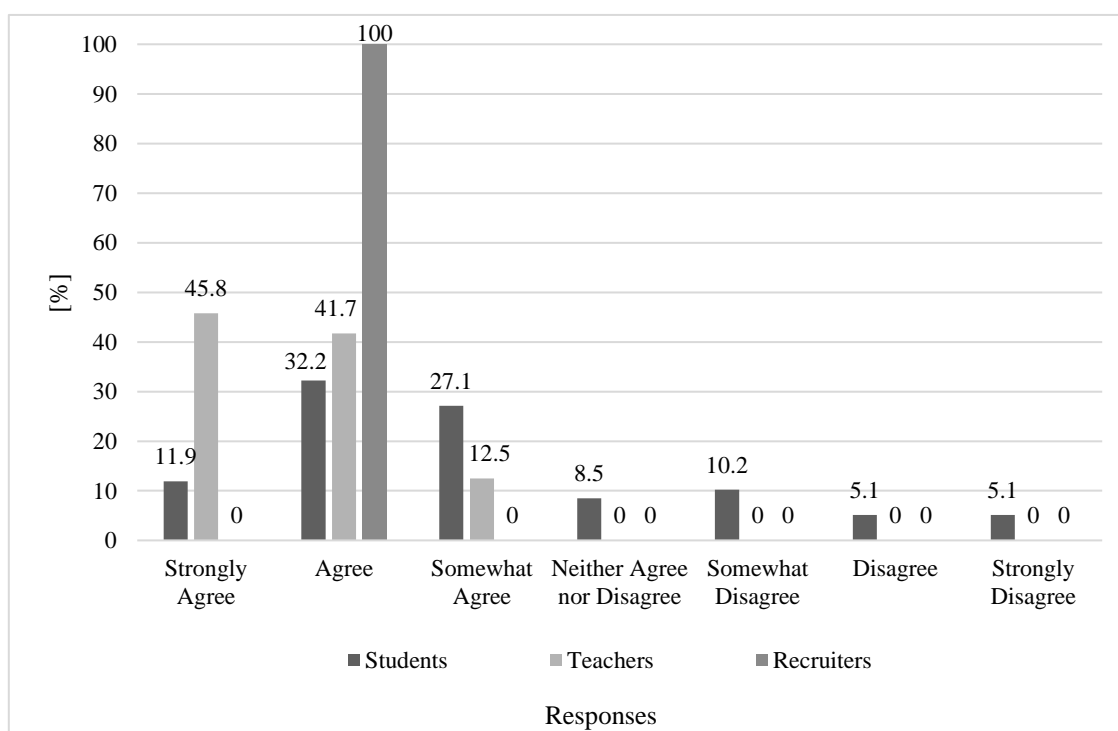


Figure 29. It Is Acceptable to Speak English With a Foreign Accent

It is clear that the majority of the respondents from all three cohorts agreed that it was acceptable to speak English with a foreign accent. However, there are notable differences in the level of the agreement between the three cohorts. First, all recruiter respondents ($n=5$, 100%) agreed and all teachers expressed a degree of agreement ($n=24$, 100%), with 45.8 per cent ($n=11$) agreeing strongly and 41.7 per cent ($n=10$) agreeing. On the other hand, even though 71.2 per cent ($n=42$) of student respondents expressed some degree of agreement, only 11.9 per cent ($n=7$) agreed strongly. Moreover, approximately a fifth of the student respondents ($n=12$, 20.4%) either somewhat disagreed, disagreed or strongly disagreed.

To check whether the aforementioned differences were statistically significant, Kruskal-Wallis test was run. There are highly significant differences between the answers given by the three cohorts ($\chi^2(2)=19.163$, $p=0.00007$). When post-hoc Tamhane's test was run, the results

showed that the differences were statistically significant between student and recruiter respondents ($p=0.0001$), as well as student and teacher respondents ($p=0.000001$). This indicates that it is the student respondents who agree significantly less strongly that it is acceptable to speak English with a foreign accent.

Turning to the second statement regarding accent (*Students should try to reduce their first language accent when speaking English*), it is striking that even though the overwhelming majority of students, teachers and recruiters thought it was acceptable to speak English with a foreign accent, many agree that students should try to reduce their foreign language accent. The results can be seen in Table 30 and Figure 30.

Table 30. Students Should Try to Reduce Their L1 Accent When Speaking English

	Responses					
	Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Strongly Agree	10	16.9	1	4.2	0	0
Agree	21	35.6	4	16.7	2	40
Somewhat Agree	15	25.4	7	29.2	2	40
Neither Agree nor Disagree	9	15.3	6	25	1	20
Somewhat Disagree	4	6.8	2	8.3	0	0
Disagree	0	0	4	16.7	0	0
Strongly Disagree	0	0	0	0	0	0

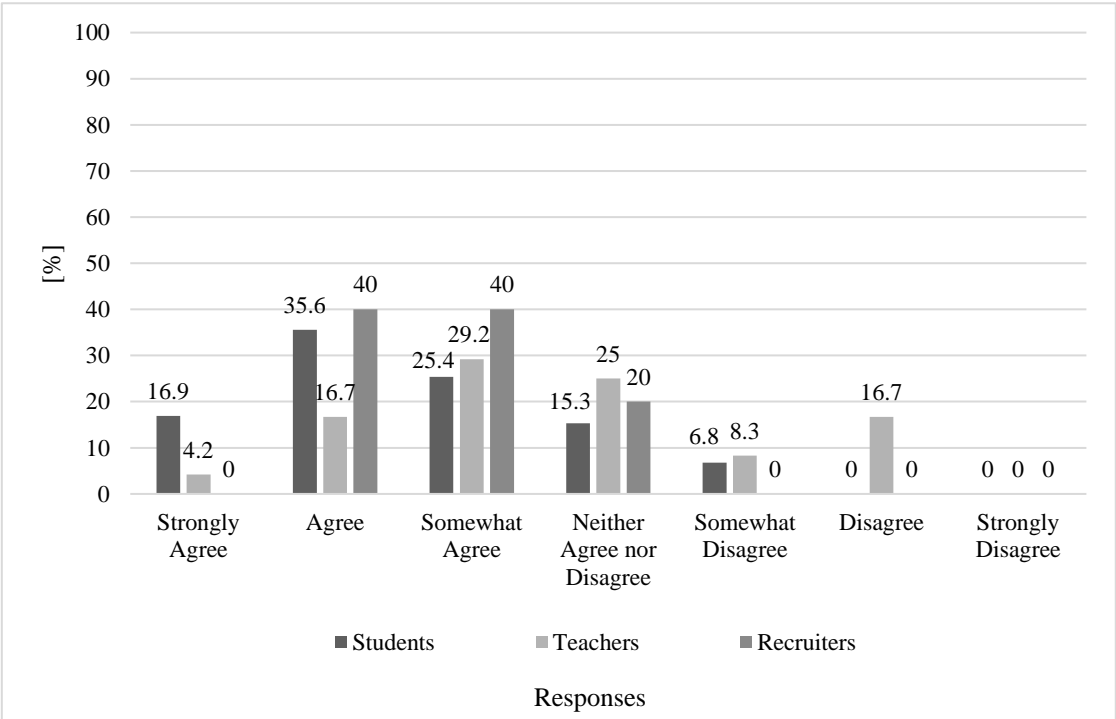


Figure 30. Students Should Try to Reduce Their L1 Accent When Speaking English

The agreement that students should aim to reduce their foreign accent was the strongest among recruiter respondents ($n=4$, 80%), even though none of them strongly agreed. This is followed by student respondents, 78 per cent ($n=46$) of whom expressed some degree of agreement, with 52.4 per cent ($n=31$) agreeing or strongly agreeing. Finally, exactly half ($n=12$, 50%) of the surveyed teachers either somewhat agreed, agreed or strongly agreed. However, only 1 (4.2%) teacher respondent agreed strongly, while 7 (29.2%) agreed somewhat. It is also worth noting that none ($n=0$, 0%) of the recruiter respondents and just 6.8 per cent ($n=4$) of the student respondents expressed any level of disagreement. This is in contrast to a quarter (25%, $n=6$) of teacher respondents.

These differences are statistically significant according to Kruskal-Wallis test ($\chi^2(2)=9.954$, $p=0.007$). Tamhane's T2 analysis showed that the difference was significant between students' and teachers' responses ($p=0.007$). All in all, it is interesting to note that on the one hand, the majority of respondents agree that it is acceptable to speak English with a foreign accent, while on the other hand, the majority of the respondents also agree that students should try to reduce their first language accent when speaking English.

It is important to point out, however, that it is the student respondents who agree the least with the first statement (*It is acceptable to speak English with a foreign accent*) and the most with the second one (*Students should try to reduce their first language accent when speaking English*), which could explain their preference for 'native speaker' teachers. While no such correlation was observed for the former statement ($\rho=0.155$, $p=0.121$), there was a significant correlation between student respondents' belief that they should reduce their foreign accent and their preference for being taught by 'native speakers' ($\rho=0.305$, $p=0.019$). In addition, the belief among student respondents' that they should aim to reduce their foreign accent when speaking English was also negatively correlated with the preference for having classes with 'non-native speaker' teachers ($\rho=0.387$, $p=0.002$), as well as with that for being taught by both groups ($\rho=0.276$, $p=0.034$). This suggests that in order to tackle native speakerism, it might be important to address this belief in class with students.

As mentioned above, the quantitative data suggest that while having a foreign accent is permissible, students should nevertheless aim to reduce it. To try and shed some light on this apparent contradiction, the qualitative results are now presented below. First, one student interviewee mentioned that having a foreign accent was not a problem in general, with the exception of language teachers:

When it comes to speaking English with a foreign accent, it depends on the purpose the person is using the language for. If for example they teach, I'd rather their accent was as close to the original one as possible. But if the person uses English for let's say travelling, it doesn't really matter for me. [S2]

What is apparent in the above comment is that the student interviewee believes that there is an original accent, which they probably associate with either Standard British or General American accent. Another student interviewee mentioned that speaking with a Polish accent might be mistaken for being bored or uninterested:

When Polish people speak in English, they can come across as sort of tired. I mean, our accent in English is a bit monotonous. So, for example at a job interview when our interlocutor is English, we can come across as bored and not too interested. [S1]

However, this student interviewee also pointed out that since English is a global lingua franca, in many cases having a foreign accent does not pose any problems:

So, then the accent might be needed. But I also think that English is now so widely spread, that the accent isn't that important. [S1]

One of the teacher interviewees highlighted that it might depend on how strong the foreign accent is and whether it affects intelligibility:

I mean if the accent makes it difficult for you to communicate, then it might be a problem. But as long as you can communicate, as long as, you know, I don't think it's that big of a problem. [T2]

Interestingly, one teacher interviewee mentioned that one of their students had specified they did not want to sound like a 'native speaker':

So, I have this one student who works in an international corporation, and she specifically said that she doesn't want to speak like a 'native', but that she wants to be understandable. [T3]

A very positive attitude towards foreign accents was also expressed by this teacher interviewee:

I also don't have a problem with a foreign accent. I have a lot of friends who aren't 'native' and they all speak English to me, and all have some kind of accent, but then I have an accent, we have an American teacher and they have an accent. I think it would actually be worse if people didn't have accents. I find it quite unnerving talking to people who sound British or American, and then they tell you they aren't. So, I don't see the point of teaching to a particular type of English. [T4]

Another teacher interviewee observed that the accent might be part of the students' linguistic identity and as long as it does not affect intelligibility, then there is no reason to try to reduce it:

I personally think there's nothing wrong with having a foreign accent. I've told some of my students that what we're trying to do is ensure that your English is understood by people you're likely to come into contact with, but when you speak English, you might have let's say a Chinese accent. But you are Chinese, and that's not a bad thing, so why would you fight having a Chinese accent. As long as you're able to communicate and express yourself. [T1]

The general acceptability of foreign accent was also confirmed by two recruiter interviewees. For example:

For me, if someone speaks English with a foreign accent, that's acceptable. [R1]

Having a foreign accent might have been a bad thing in the past, but now with so many different Englishes, and such big numbers of 'non-native speakers' speaking the language, speaking English, as compared to 'native speakers'; I think it's actually quite important to be able to understand different Englishes and different accents. [R2]

However, one recruiter interviewee highlighted that this depends on the student and whether they find their foreign accent acceptable:

If somebody is happy with a slightly foreign sounding accent that is completely intelligible, then for me that is the aim of pronunciation - to be intelligible to an as wide as possible range of people [R4].

All in all, the qualitative data indicate that the teacher interviewees seem to be much more acceptant of a foreign accent than the students are, which is in line with the quantitative results. Nevertheless, since the quantitative data presented in Table 4 and Figure 28 also indicated that most respondents agreed that students should aim to reduce their foreign accent, it might follow that they would also see speaking like a 'native speaker' as the goal of learning English. This is discussed below.

Since the internal consistency of the responses to the two statements concerning whether speaking like a 'native speaker' should be the goal for learners (*Students should aim to speak English like a NES; Speaking English like a NES should be the goal for students*) was high ($\alpha=0.938$), the results were combined and are presented together in Table 31 and Figure 31. The responses to both of the statements can be seen in Table 40 and Figure 37 in Appendix G.

Table 31. Speaking English Like a Native Speaker Should Be the Aim for Students

	Responses					
	Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Strongly Agree	9	15.3	1	4.2	0	0
Agree	19	32.2	2	8.3	0	0
Somewhat Agree	12	20.3	4	16.7	2	40
Neither Agree nor Disagree	12	20.3	3	12.5	2	40
Somewhat Disagree	6	10.2	5	20.8	1	20
Disagree	1	1.7	5	20.8	0	0
Strongly Disagree	0	0	4	16.7	0	0

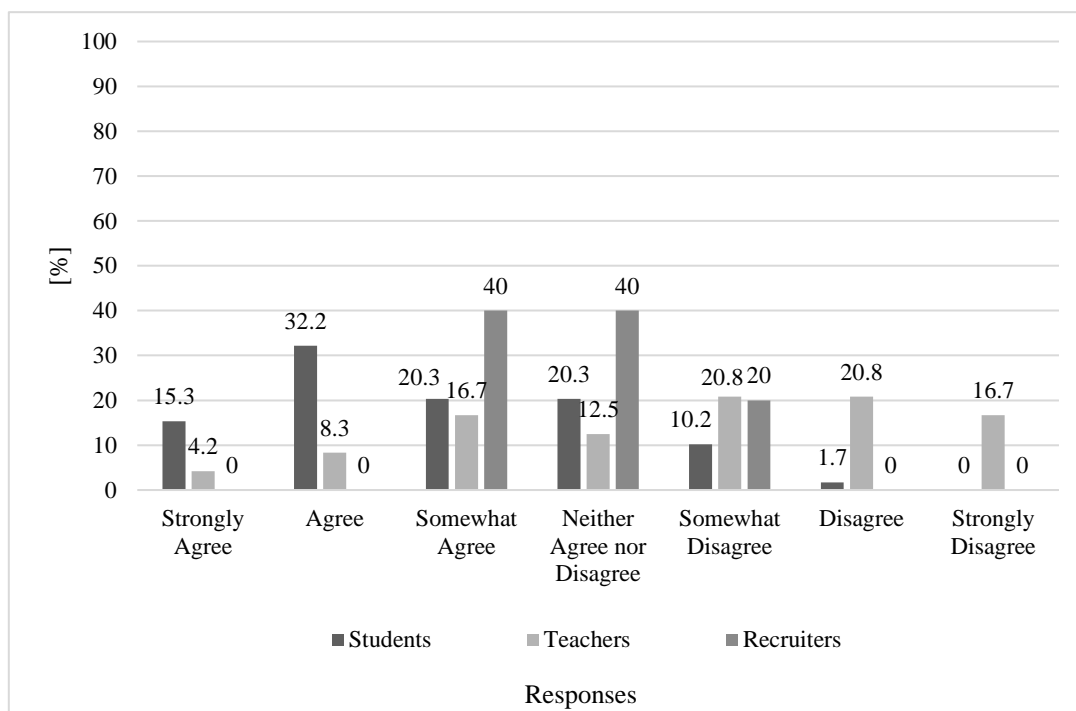


Figure 31. Speaking English Like a Native Speaker Should Be the Aim for Students

First, it is striking that over two thirds of student respondents ($n=40$, 67.8%) either somewhat agreed, agreed or strongly agreed that learners should aim to speak English like a ‘native speaker’. This is in sharp contrast to the teacher respondents, only a third of whom ($n=7$, 29.2%) expressed any degree of agreement. In fact, more of them ($n=14$, 58.3%) actually disagreed that speaking English like a ‘native speaker’ should be a goal for students. The recruiter respondents seem uncertain as their responses seem fairly equally distributed with 2 (40%) who somewhat agreed, 2 (40%) who neither agreed nor disagreed, and 1 (20%) who somewhat disagreed.

Kruskal-Wallis test ($\chi^2(2)=21.649$, $p=0.00002$) indicated that the aforementioned differences were significant. Tamhane’s T2 test ($p=0.0001$) showed this difference to be

significant as far as students' and teachers' responses are concerned. This means that it is the student respondents who agree more strongly than the teachers that speaking English like a 'native speaker' should be the goal for students.

The difference of opinion between the three cohorts is also evident in the qualitative data, which are presented below. First, one student interviewee highlighted that having a 'native speaker' teacher can allow them to pick up the 'native speaker' accent:

I think that whether the teacher is a 'native speaker' is very important, for example to pick up the accent. Because if a 'native speaker' teaches me, I hear the accent as it's supposed to be, and not as it was artificially learned. [S2]

A second student interviewee observed that it was their dream to speak English with a 'native speaker' accent:

I do have this dream to speak English very well and I think that at a certain stage this ['native speaker'] accent would be useful. So, personally, I'd really like to speak nice English, like a 'native speaker' [S1].

During the focus group interviews one student informant mentioned that a good English teacher should "show us the correct or right accent" [S7], by which it is likely that they meant a standard 'native speaker' accent. In the same focus group, another student informant emphasised that they did not mean being intelligible, but having a 'native speaker' accent:

I think it's more about having the original 'native speaker' accent. [S8]

However, in contrast to the above comments, during an interview one student interviewee emphasised that speaking like a 'native speaker' was not a goal for them. Instead, what mattered more was being able to communicate:

I don't really care about speaking like a Brit, for example. I don't really care about perfecting my accent or something. I care much more about learning to communicate in this language, than having a typically British or Australian or American vocabulary, for example. [S3]

Overall, it seems that student interviewees and informants do consider speaking like a 'native speaker', especially as far as accents are concerned, to be important. This is confirmed by one teacher interviewee who commented that some of their students wanted to know which accents were better:

[My students] still wanted to know and learn which accent in the UK was better, more prestigious, even though I told them I'm an English teacher, I'm not an accent coach. So, they seemed to have a bit of trouble accepting it. [T1]

On the other hand, according to another teacher, their students "haven't really expressed any preference either way" [T3]. Two more teacher interviewees also seem to put emphasis on being intelligible:

I think it's not about teaching them a particular 'native speaker' English, but close enough so they can be understood. So, there's always going to be some words not said correctly, but if they are still understandable, then that's fine in terms of pronunciation. [T4]

For me if a student has a foreign accent, that's absolutely no problem. What matters is intelligibility. [T5]

However, students should still be able to understand how 'native speakers' use the language, but not necessarily to produce it:

But then, I was teaching how a 'native speaker' would say it, so they can then when they listen to say BBC news, they can still understand it. Students have to be able to understand it, but not necessarily produce it. [T3]

I think that it's important as well, maybe it's not a goal, it's not like the final aim, but it's good to understand how 'native speakers' speak, especially when it comes to the vocabulary or structures they might use. But I wouldn't say it's the ultimate goal [to speak like a 'native speaker']. [R2]

Bearing in mind the importance ‘native-like’ pronunciation seems to have for student participants, the role of the teacher might be to reassure them that having a foreign accent is acceptable and that the goal is intelligibility rather than ‘nativeness’:

But I just tried to reassure them that what they were doing was OK, the way they were speaking was OK. That there was no point in worrying yourself about accents. [T1]

This is important since as one of the teacher interviewees highlighted, achieving ‘native-like’ competency is so difficult that it might be an unfair and unrealistic goal to set our students:

I'd never expect my students to be speaking like a 'native speaker'. That's actually even I think cruel, because it's almost impossible. It's really hard. Students are not exposed to the language enough, they aren't exposed to 'native speakers', they aren't inserted into the community. So, it's really hard for students, and for a teacher to expect them to speak like 'native speakers', that's harsh. [T2]

In addition, one teacher interviewee suggested that imitating a ‘native speaker’ model very closely can actually have negative effects for intelligibility in international contexts since it is the ‘native speakers’ who are frequently the least understood:

In terms of ELF, 'native speakers' you often can't understand them. So, in some situations they can be a negative model. If you're going to be working towards the most intelligible English across countries and cultures, then 'native' is not the way forward. [T3]

This was echoed by one of the recruiter interviewees who said that:

Having for example a strong Glaswegian accent in the classroom, it might have a negative effect later, I mean as a Yorkshire person, I struggle to understand the Glaswegian accent. [R4]

Perhaps the issue is that a ‘native speaker’ accent has been reified as one homogenous standard accent, often associated either with standard British or general American accent. However, in reality, as this recruiter interviewee points out, it is difficult to talk of one correct ‘native speaker’ language model:

Of course, it's nice to stick to a certain model, but let's not forget that the two basic models, namely British and American English, are also very different from each other, so there isn't one model that would be accepted all around the world. So, by definition there is a lot of accent diversity within English, which is a good thing. [R1]

Despite this, it is also important to take the learning objectives of individual students into consideration:

If the individual has the goal to speak English like a 'native speaker', I won't stop them to try. [T2]

I think it all depends on students' individual goals. So, for example, I have business English students and most of them use English to communicate with other 'non-native speakers'. But then on the other hand, I also have a student who's lived in the UK, who's got British friends and who enjoys imitating 'native speaker' accents. So, I guess it all depends on the student. [T5]

Is it important for learners to achieve 'native-like' pronunciation? Now I think I'm not in the position to answer this question for my learners. I think the learners know better what they want to achieve. [R4]

The qualitative data also indicate that teacher and recruiter interviewees are much less concerned about students aiming to imitate ‘native speakers’. Nevertheless, they do admit that it can be important in certain situations. As for student respondents, the ‘native speaker’ still seems to remain a benchmark they are aiming for while at the same time acknowledging that it is acceptable to speak with a foreign accent. This might suggest why many student respondents still preferred being taught by a ‘native speaker’. Nevertheless, no significant correlation between student respondents’ belief that speaking like a ‘native speaker’ should be the goal for students, and their preference for ‘native speaker’ teachers ($\rho=0.152$, $p=0.347$) was detected.

This section tackled four broad themes, namely use of English only and students’ L1 in class, learning correct and incorrect English from ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers,

the global nature of English, and finally ‘native-like’ pronunciation and foreign accent. These four themes might constitute possible reasons for a preference for ‘native speaker’ teachers that some participants have shown. However, in order to move beyond the ‘native speaker’ fallacy and constant comparisons between the two groups of teachers, the next two sections focus on what makes an effective English teacher, regardless of that teacher’s L1.

4.4 Qualities and Skills of Effective English Teachers

Having looked at findings regarding the first three RQs, this section focuses on data pertaining to RQ 4. The data for this question was gathered using both quantitative and qualitative means. First, the quantitative data are presented, followed by the qualitative findings. Eighty-five ($n=85$) respondents completed this part of the questionnaire, 57 of whom were students, 24 teachers and 5 recruiters. The respondents had to assign a level of importance from 0 (*Not important at all*) to 100 (*Very Important*) to twelve teacher skills and qualities. Table 32 and Figure 32 below show the mean (M) importance for each of the twelve qualities skills of effective English teachers.

Table 32. Qualities and Skills of Effective English Teachers

Item	An effective English teacher...	Mean (<i>M</i>)		
		Students	Teachers	Recruiters
1	Is a Native English Speaker.	67.9	17.9	66
2	Is creative.	83.2	80.4	68
3	Knows teaching methodology.	77.4	78.8	80
4	Knows English well.	96.8	93.8	98
5	Has high language awareness.	83.9	83.8	84
6	Can convey knowledge effectively.	89.6	94.6	86
7	Is a Non-Native English speaker.	33.7	15.8	22
8	Can motivate students.	88.8	94.2	84
9	Is flexible.	82.5	90	80
10	Has good rapport with students	85.3	95	78
11	Speaks English as their mother tongue.	69.8	21.3	64
12	Speaks English as a foreign language.	42.6	18.3	24

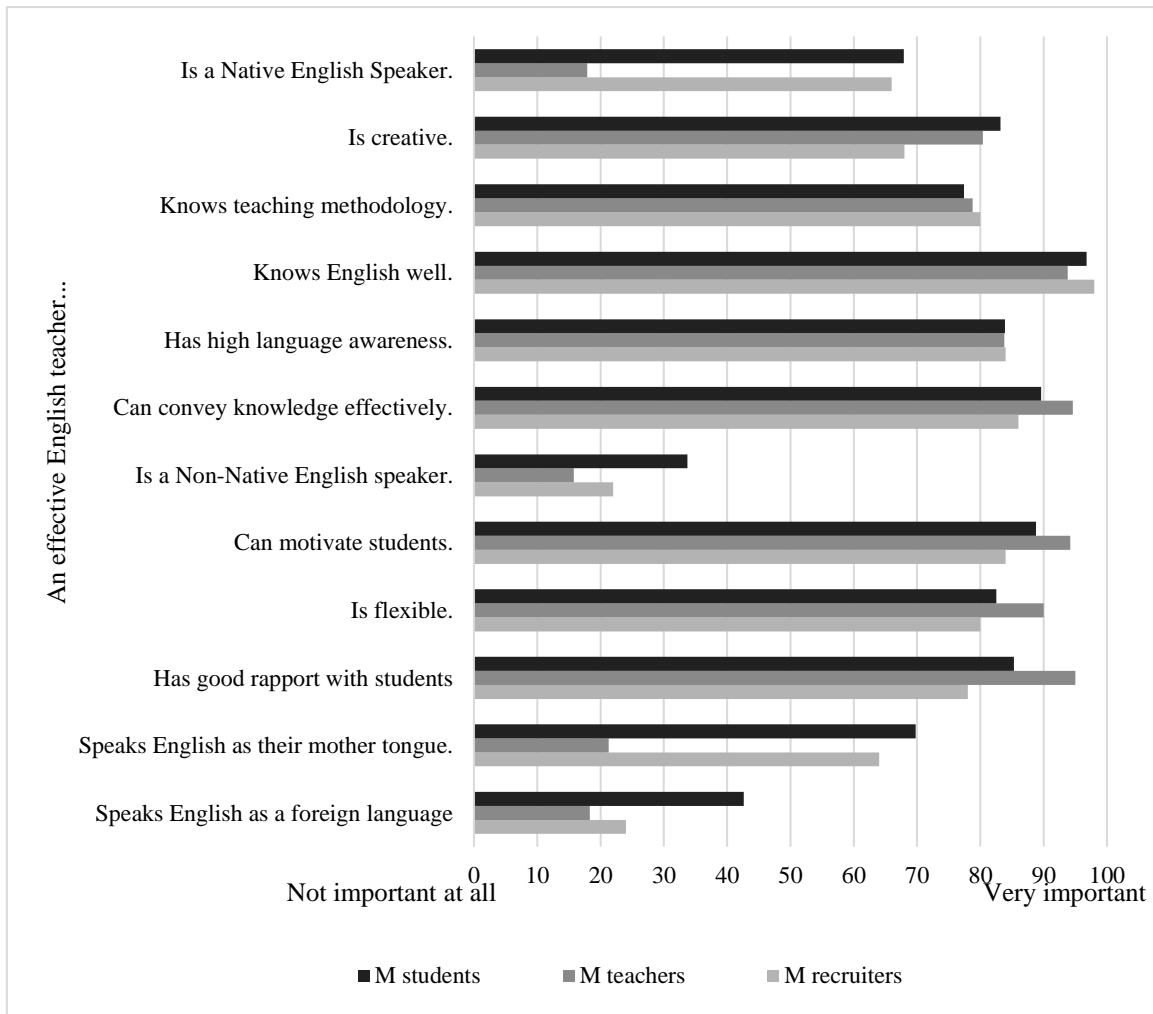


Figure 32. Qualities and Skills of Effective English Teachers

It can be seen from Table 32 and Figure 32 above that there are important differences between the responses given by teachers, recruiters and students, particularly as far as the five most important qualities and skills of effective English teachers are concerned. To illustrate them more clearly, three tables below show the results of each of the cohorts separately. First, Table 33 and Figure 33 below show the twelve qualities and skills of effective English teachers according to student respondents presented from the most to the least important one based on the *M*.

Table 33. Qualities and Skills of Effective English Teachers According to Student Respondents

No	Item	An effective English teacher...	M	SD
1	4	Knows English well.	96.8	13.7
2	6	Can convey knowledge effectively.	89.6	17.3
3	8	Can motivate students.	88.8	17.2
4	10	Has good rapport with students	85.3	22.2
5	5	Has high language awareness.	83.9	20
6	2	Is creative.	83.2	18.1
7	9	Is flexible.	82.5	20.4
8	3	Knows teaching methodology.	77.4	21.2
9	11	Speaks English as their mother tongue.	69.8	29.2
10	1	Is a Native English Speaker.	67.9	25.4
11	12	Speaks English as a foreign language.	42.6	32
12	7	Is a Non-Native English speaker.	33.7	28.4

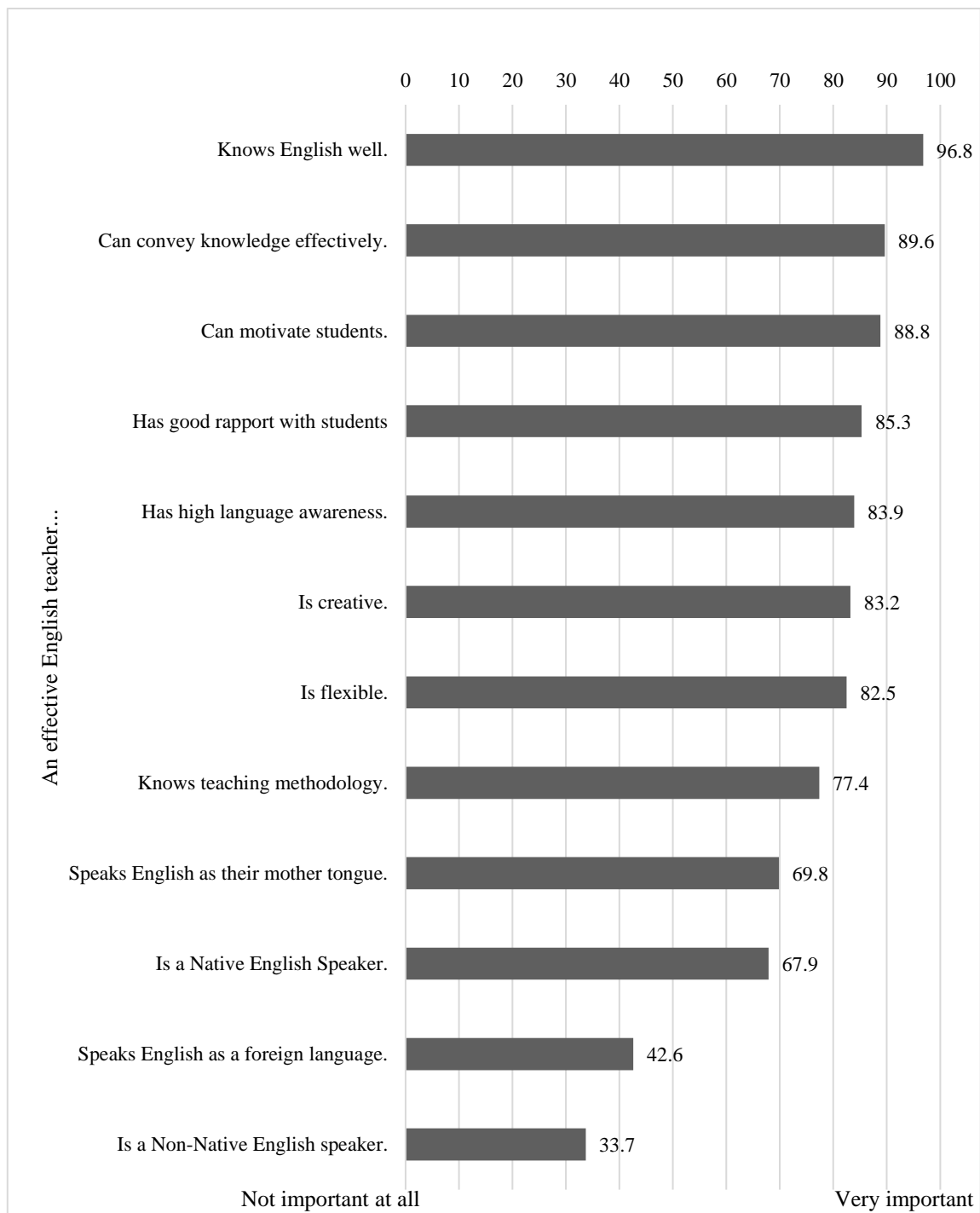


Figure 33. Qualities and Skills of Effective English Teachers According to Student Respondents

First, it is important to recognise that the SD for all items was fairly large, ranging from 13.7 to 29.2. This might indicate that there has been some disagreement among the student respondents.

Student respondents considered knowledge of English as the most important skill of an effective English teacher ($M=96.8$). This was followed by the ability to convey knowledge effectively ($M=89.6$), to motivate students ($M=88$) and having good rapport with students ($M=85.3$). The importance of knowing English well for being considered an effective English teacher is evident in the comment of one student informant:

Knowledge of grammar, knowledge of the language is for me an absolutely basic element to be a teacher. It cannot be overlooked. Without it, it would be a mistake to be allowed to teach. It's difficult to imagine a maths teacher without any knowledge of maths. [S7]

Three student informants also mentioned that the teacher should know the language beyond what is taught in classes or books, possibly through having lived or studied abroad, which is also linked to culture:

I think that it's something like, I'm just not sure how to put it, a knowledge not only from books, but for example that somebody has been, a sort of practical knowledge, that somebody has been abroad, lived there, that they know the culture and the language, not only the one from the books. [S8]

Not a learned English, not a university one. Not just a tourist knowledge, but more in depth, having been for longer abroad in an English-speaking country. [S9]

I also think it's important the teacher has some experience beyond school. We were chatting with my partner here. That he spent some time abroad, at a university so he has a good accent. That's also important. [S18]

It is important to note, however, that the three comments above come only from two out of a total of eight focus groups. In addition, none of the three student interviewees mentioned language proficiency.

As the last comment above indicated, and as evidenced by the quantitative data (see 4.3.3), some students also assigned importance to pronunciation and accent, which might contribute to the overall evaluation of the teacher's proficiency. This is evident in the comment below:

Showing the correct accent. Showing, comparing at times the different accents pronunciation from different regions. Showing that this is from London, this is from Wales. So, it is a knowledge of language not from books but from nature. [S8]

Student informants also commented on the importance of good rapport:

The teacher should be open-minded and good with people. They should also be a bit friendly, but not too much, because when he or she will be too much friendly, then we not be progress in the study, but a bit friendly could help us to open and speak English. [S11]

The teacher should have a positive attitude to all students. Sometimes it's late, and a person that comes in with a positive outlook on life can also stimulate us to think creatively. [S36]

Another skill of an effective teacher that emerged from the qualitative data is the ability to motivate students, which two student informants linked with being demanding:

It's also very good when the teacher is demanding. I'm a bit lazy myself, so if the teacher doesn't push me in the right direction, I don't study. [S19]

So, it's good to push the students to make progress. The students should feel the pressure of teacher. Like [name of the teacher], that you must write some tests, essays so you have some knowledge. [S20]

Some students might also feel motivated if the teacher is creative as emphasised by numerous student informants and interviewees:

The teacher must also have creative ideas for studying, how to conduct the classes so that they're interesting. Different methods of teaching should also be introduced. The I think that the teacher is very good. I think that their classes aren't boring. [S1]

The teacher must also have creative ideas for studying, how to conduct the classes so that they're interesting. Different methods of teaching should also be introduced. The I think that the teacher is very good. I think that their classes aren't boring. [S2]

Creativity. It's really important whether the teacher is able to conduct the class in an interesting manner. We've had many teachers, and sometimes you get one that can't look beyond the book. So, it's important that the teacher adds something of their own. [S3]

The teacher should also entertain us in the classes. I don't like a teacher who just tell us read the book and that's all. I think a good teacher should every time change [their] activities. [S5]

The teacher should conduct interesting lessons backed up with real-life examples. [S7]

When it comes to the teacher, I'd like them to use different methods, so that they don't just read one exercise after another from the books, but more by means of games, fun, conversation, more creative, inventive. [S34]

Another quality or skill of an effective English teacher that many student interviewees and informants found important was flexibility and an individual approach to each student:

It's also important that the teacher has an individual approach to the students, because we all know that each student is different. Even more so in our group, where everyone is of a different age. So, it's important that the teacher is able to approach each person with different means. [S3]

Teacher should know weaknesses and strong sides of the students, so it means individual approach to every person. I know there is not enough time, but for example I have problem with hearing, so I don't like listening. And she problems reading. So, the teacher can help us improve the different skills. [S20]

The teacher should take care about individual needs of students, because sometimes some students speak a lot, some students speak less. So, the teacher should try to involve everyone and encourage them to speak. [S21]

Teacher should be able to cooperate with the student who is ahead with the subject matter, and with the one who's behind. [S32]

Teacher should activate in the group not only those who are gifted, but also those who are shy or don't know how to make their voice be heard in the group; so that they are also active during the class, and have a chance to say something. [S33]

I also think that this person teaching a language should be bright to notice the different personalities in the group, because the group will be made up of different personalities, which will work differently even in those groups of five, six or seven people. Teacher needs to be bright enough to know how to approach and interest all the students, so that nobody is bored. [S35]

It is interesting that so many student informants and interviewees highlighted adjusting to individual student's needs as a key skill since the results from the quantitative strand show this was only the sixth most important skill ($M=82.5$). This might be due to the fact that the adjective chosen to describe it (flexible) did not exactly convey or reflect the concept students had in mind. In addition, it is also worth noting that the ability to convey knowledge effectively was not mentioned by any of the student informants or interviewees. This is in contrast to the quantitative results which show that students assigned very high importance to it ($M=89.6$).

In comparison to the responses provided by student respondents, the teachers' responses, which are shown in Table 34 and Figure 34, differ slightly.

Table 34. Qualities and Skills of Effective English Teachers According to Teacher Respondents

No	Item	An effective English teacher...	M	SD
1	10	Has good rapport with students	95	7.6
2	6	Can convey knowledge effectively.	94.6	17.5
3	8	Can motivate students.	94.2	12.9
4	4	Knows English well.	93.8	7.0
5	9	Is flexible.	90	7.6
6	5	Has high language awareness.	83.8	15.2
7	2	Is creative.	80.4	14.9
8	3	Knows teaching methodology.	78.8	19.4
9	11	Speaks English as their mother tongue.	21.3	26.7
10	12	Speaks English as a foreign language.	18.3	21.9
11	1	Is a Native English Speaker.	17.9	23.8
12	7	Is a Non-Native English speaker.	15.8	17.5

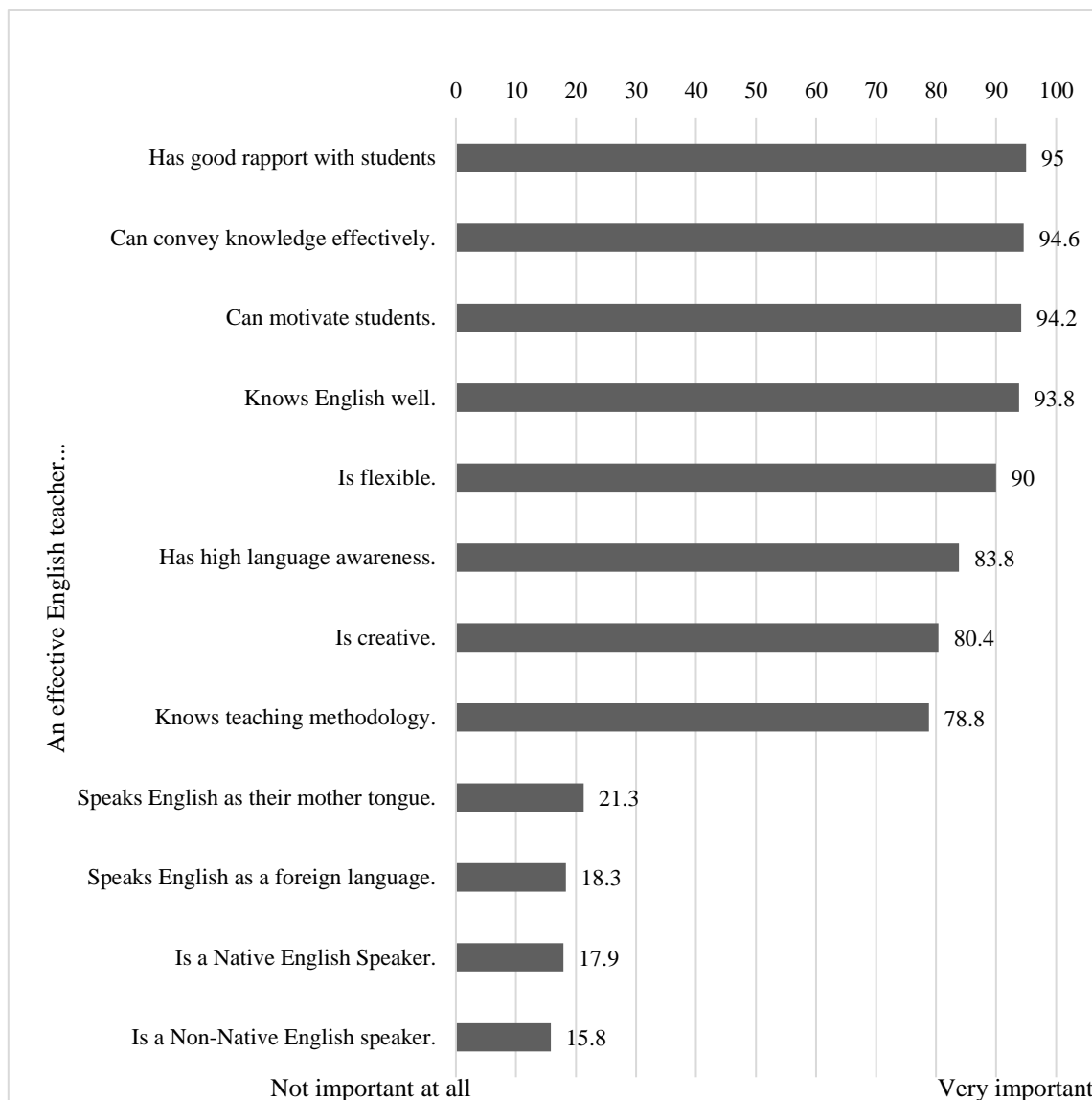


Figure 34. Qualities and Skills of Effective English Teachers According to Teacher Respondents

First, teacher respondents assigned more importance to good rapport ($M=95$), conveying knowledge effectively ($M=94.6$) as well as motivating students ($M=94.2$) than to knowing English well ($M=93.8$). Nevertheless, knowing English well had a relatively low SD ($SD=7$) in comparison to conveying knowledge effectively ($SD=17.5$) and motivating students ($SD=12.9$). The importance teacher respondents assign to good rapport is also evident in the qualitative data collected, even though at times different terms and adjectives were used to refer to establishing and maintaining good rapport:

Warmth and approachability, we got it down as team building, not only you with the learners, but also the learners between themselves. [T6]

The first one we came up with is building rapport with students. That's quite important, because above all if you've got that, then everything else falls into place. [T13]

Ability to create rapport with the group. [T18]

Approachable, open, like all of this, openness. [T19]

Good with people, I think it all comes down under that. [T20]

However, one teacher informant also pointed out that it might be possible to teach good lessons without rapport:

On the flipside to rapport, I agree with you, but isn't it that it's possible to teach good lessons without any rapport, if you can keep your students engaged in different ways. [T15]

The second most important skill of effective English teachers according to teacher respondents was the ability to convey knowledge effectively. This was mentioned by three teacher informants and interviewees:

It's not only about knowing the language, but being able to convey it clearly. [T6]

Passing on knowledge effectively is a part of planning. I personally got much better at it through planning. [T14]

Ability to share your knowledge, because it's not enough to have language awareness. [T21]

In addition, knowing how to motivate students was also considered important by the teachers both in the quantitative and qualitative results, and was further linked with creativity:

Creativity is important, when you need to come up with something on the spot, or when you have extra time, you need something to fill it with. And also that engages the students if you have interesting ideas. [T16]

One of the things I've found students value most from feedback is teacher being motivating, encouraging, making them feel that it actually makes sense to learn English, and to work. [T21]

Two teacher informants and one interviewee also pointed out the importance of proficiency in the language, stressing at the same time, however, that being a 'native speaker' is not relevant:

I think the language level of a teacher is a skill, is a factor, because a teacher, wherever they come from, whatever their L1 is, needs to be able to answer sometimes unexpected questions, needs to be able to command the confidence of students and their families. So, the language level is an important and relevant factor and I would argue that whether this comes from a 'native speaker' is unimportant. [T1]

The teacher should be linguistically prepared, which means that if you have a text, you know the words in that text. You don't have to know all the words, but you should know the words from this text. Linguistically prepared in the sense that you know what you're talking about [T10].

Fluency in the language, it doesn't have to be 'native speaker', it's just fluency, you know being able to speak it very well. (...) Doesn't have to be a 'native speaker', but should speak English well, because the students copy. [T12]

Even though the importance of proficiency was not stressed by as many teacher as student interviewees and informants, this could possibly be due to the fact that they took it to be such a fundamental skill that they did not even think it necessary to mention it, as evidenced by this comment from one teacher informant:

[Being proficient], we take it for granted. It's not even on our list. [T19]

On the other hand, two teacher informants and one interviewee mentioned that the necessary proficiency level of the teacher can depend on the level at which they are teaching:

And in terms of proficiency it really depends on what level you're teaching. Obviously, you shouldn't just be one step ahead of your students, but if you're teaching a beginner's class or intermediate class, you don't necessarily need to be completely proficient [T3].

The minimum level of language, to teach an Elementary class or something, would be B2, because then you've got the grasp of the language. [T8]

You could say that the other minimum [proficiency level for a teacher] is higher than your students. [T9]

In addition, two teacher interviewees pointed out that the ability to teach is actually more important than being proficient:

Knowing how to teach. Studying how teaching works and knowing how to make students learn faster. Knowing how to help your students reach their goals in terms of the language. I think that's actually

even more important than being proficient. I mean, it is important to be proficient, but knowing how to teach is more important. [T2]

I am a 'native speaker', but I wouldn't feel comfortable teaching a proficiency class at the moment. A lot of my teaching experience has been with low level students and I recently took an advanced group and that was a challenge. So, if someone gave me a proficiency class, I'd be worried about it. And that's not because I don't know English. So, it's not about your own level of language, but it's about whether you're a good teacher. [T3]

Even though in the quantitative strand the mean importance given to proficiency ($M=93.8$) by teacher respondents was higher than that assigned to language awareness ($M=83.8$), during the qualitative strand three teacher informants did recognise the importance of the latter:

Language awareness allows you to grade your language better. And if you can't grade your language to the class you're teaching, they're going to find it a lot harder to understand what's going on. And as a result, the lesson is obviously going to, you're not going to achieve what you planned. [T11]

Knowing the structure of the language, how it works, how you use it is also vital. It helps you anticipate problems, explain the new language even on the spot, choose appropriate materials for your students. [T18]

Knowing the language in a way that will fulfil students' needs. You don't necessarily have to be able to name all parts of speech, but you need to be able to communicate what you're trying to teach to your students. [T19]

Finally, flexibility was also an important quality in the eyes of the teachers both in the quantitative and qualitative strand. The importance teacher informants and interviewees attach to this quality can be seen in the comments below:

And specifically in the classroom, it's things like being (...) good at getting to know what the students actually enjoy. Like for example some students really like getting lots of feedback, lots of correction. Some students like getting lots of vocabulary, some like practising speaking. So, it's trying to see what the students will benefit from most, because if a student wants to get given new vocabulary, then when we teach a new word, then we could also give them a synonym. [T4]

Flexibility could be broader, it's about the ability to teach different levels, ages. [T8]

Depending on the students, group, being able to adjust. [T10]

So, there's a balance. You want to stick to the plan, but there's a point where you can't always do it. I've only just started doing it, but when the plan isn't working and being able to just change everything you're doing. [T17]

They need to be flexible and adapt to different needs of the students. [T18]

Having presented student and teacher respondents' views, Table 35 and Figure 33 shows the mean importance attached by recruiter respondents to the twelve qualities and skills of effective English teachers.

Table 35. Qualities and Skills of Effective English Teachers According to Recruiter Respondents

No	Item	An effective English teacher...	M	SD
1	4	Knows English well.	98	4.0
2	6	Can convey knowledge effectively.	86	12.0
3	8	Can motivate students.	84	15.0
	5	Has high language awareness.	84	13.6
5	9	Is flexible.	80	22.8
	3	Knows teaching methodology.	80	14.1
7	10	Has good rapport with students	78	7.5
8	2	Is creative.	68	9.8
9	1	Is a Native English Speaker.	66	24.2
10	11	Speaks English as their mother tongue.	64	22.4
11	12	Speaks English as a foreign language.	24	24.2
12	7	Is a Non-Native English speaker.	22	16.0

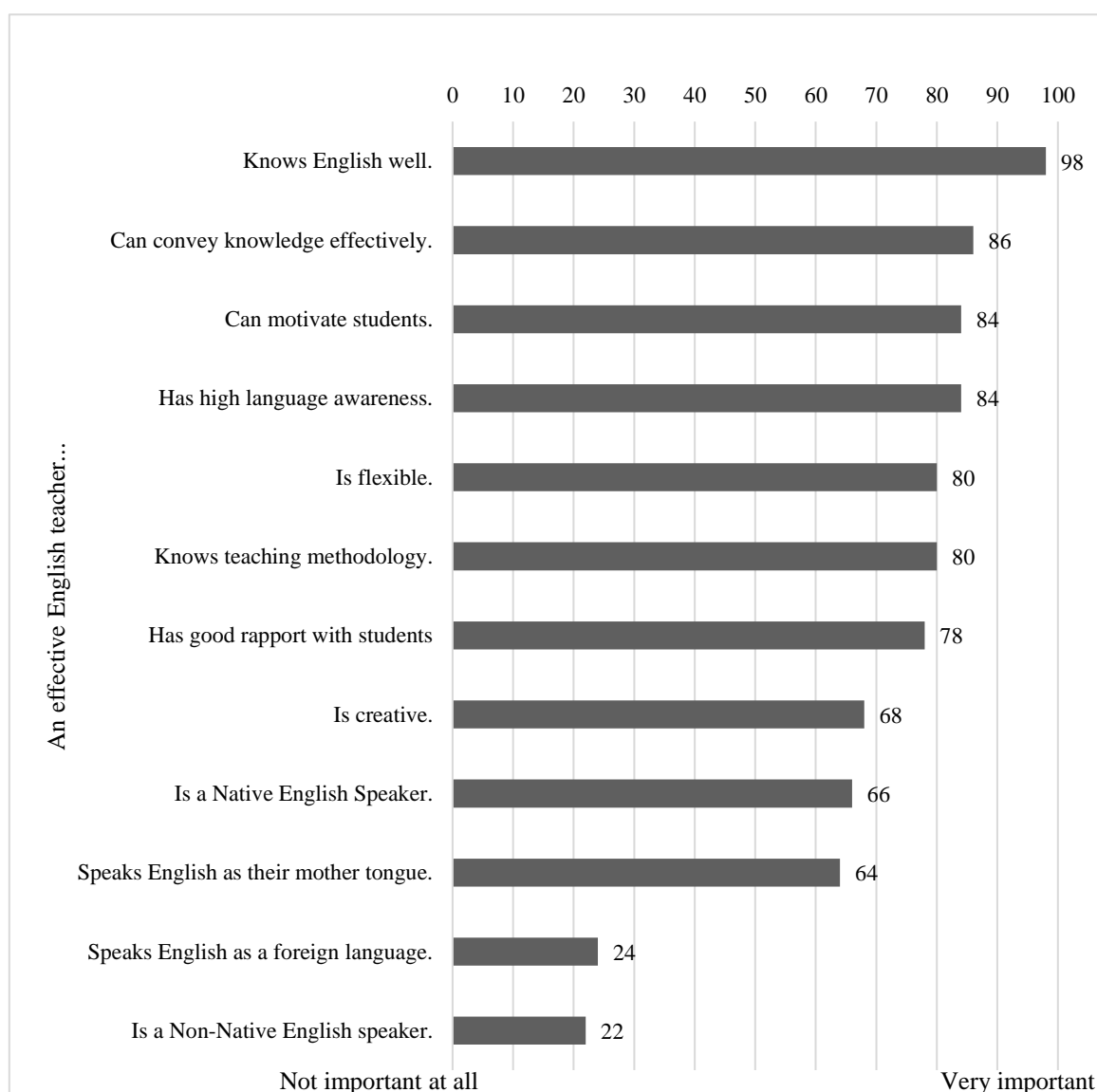


Figure 35. Qualities and Skills of Effective English Teachers According to Recruiter Respondents

Similarly to student respondents, but in contrast to teacher respondents, recruiters ranked knowing English well as the most important skill ($M=98$) of an effective English teacher. This item's mean importance was more than twelve points higher than those immediately following it: *can convey knowledge effectively* ($M=86$), *can motivate students* ($M=84$) and *has high language awareness* ($M=84$). It is also worth noting that this item had by far the lowest SD of all twelve items ($SD=4$), which indicates that the recruiter respondents agreed to a large extent on the importance of proficiency. The importance recruiter respondents attach to proficiency of the teacher is evident in this comment from one recruiter interviewee:

For example, I think that for me the most important thing is that they know the language to a high degree of proficiency, C2 for example (...), because you can't have a teacher that can only teach up to FCE, for example. I wouldn't hire them, because for me the proficiency is too low. [R3]

Moreover, another recruiter interviewee mentioned that regardless of their proficiency, 'non-native speakers' are still not as proficient as 'native speakers' and can only teach up to a certain level:

The weaknesses, though, are that their language is not internalised to the degree that they were weaned on it, so to say. They are capable of teaching up to a certain level, but for a example on C2, a 'native speaker' would be advisable. [R1]

This was echoed by one recruiter interviewee who complained about the low proficiency of 'non-native speaker' applicants:

And the truth is that when we advertise positions, the level of the applications we receive from 'non-native speakers' is not very high as far as language goes. [R3]

Yet another recruiter interviewee suggested that especially for young learners an untrained 'native speaker' might be better than a trained 'non-native speaker' because of their higher level of proficiency:

So, if the class was conducted by a 'native speaker', even one who isn't pedagogically prepared, they are communicating with the right pronunciation, wide range of vocabulary, so for very young kids it might actually be better to have this 'native speaker' than a Polish teacher who's not proficient enough to teach the language. [R2]

On the other hand, this recruiter interviewee mentioned that newly-qualified 'native speaker' teachers might not be that proficient:

Also, talking about proficiency, as a newly CELTA-qualified teacher if you were to give them an FCE, CAE, proficiency exam, I'm sure the vast majority of those 'native speakers' would struggle with what is demanded of students in those exams. [R4]

The same recruiter interviewee also pointed out that the teacher does not necessarily have to be on C2 level, but rather one level above the students:

The teacher needs to be proficient in the sense that they are better than the students, or when it gets to really high levels, they are as good as the students, but with a little more of the language awareness so that they can deal with the more complex subtleties coming into the language being covered at that level. [R4]

Finally, this recruiter interviewee highlighted that while proficiency was important, this did not mean the teacher has to be a 'native speaker':

So, yeah, proficiency is important. The teacher has to be proficient, but proficient doesn't mean 'native'. [R4]

However, apart from proficiency, the interviewed recruiters do also take other qualities and skills into account. For example, one recruiter interviewee mentioned language awareness and the ability to convey knowledge:

I believe that language awareness and the ability to convey knowledge are much more important, and they are the key factors when teaching a language. [R1]

This recruiter also highlighted the importance of charisma and personality:

Apart from language awareness and personalisation, or adjusting the class to the student or students, one more thing is also very important, which is a sort of meta-skill, meta-quality that goes beyond what's just connected to teaching per se; and that is personality and charisma. Without this, it is difficult to be someone who conveys knowledge. [R1]

Another recruiter interviewee emphasised enthusiasm, creativity and adapting to the students' needs as very important:

I think the teacher needs to be able to be enthusiastic in the lesson and show real interest in what they're teaching. Because when students see that the teacher isn't totally engaged in the lesson, or just doing their job without extra energy, then they kind of switch off. It's about being enthusiastic, being authentic in the lesson, which means preparing the right materials and knowing your students, knowing what they might find interesting, and responding to their needs even if this means changing the lesson plan. So, being very flexible. [R2]

Ability to work as part of the team and to adjust to at times a difficult schedule was considered important too:

Another important thing is working in a group. They also need to be flexible, because it's a tough job. Sometimes you have to start at 8am and finish in the evening. It's not the office kind of work from nine to five. [R3]

Finally, one recruiter interviewee also stressed being able to motivate students to speak in class:

To engage the students, to convey the information and get them communicating. [R4]

In sum, there are important differences between which skills and qualities the three cohorts find important in effective English teachers. First, it seems that the student and recruiter participants in this study attach more importance to knowing English well, than do the teachers. Although these differences are minimally above the threshold to be considered statistically significant ($p=0.53$) as far as the quantitative strand is concerned, the data from the qualitative strand does confirm that proficiency is much more important for student and recruiter participants than it is for teachers. The importance attached to proficiency could explain student respondents' preference for 'native speaker' teachers (see 4.2.1) and recruiter respondents' preference for hiring 'native speaker' teachers (see 4.2.4). However, no such correlation was found neither for student ($\rho=0.011$, $p=0.936$), nor for recruiter respondents ($\rho=0.363$, $p=0.274$).

Second, a difference could be noted between the mean importance that student and teacher respondents assigned to having good rapport with students. Since the data were not distributed homogeneously, ANOVA results were disregarded. However, Kruskal-Wallis test showed there were significant differences between the three cohorts ($\chi^2(2)=9.439$, $p=0.009$). Tamahane's posthoc analysis indicated that this difference was significant between teacher and student respondents ($p=0.025$), as well as teacher and recruiter respondents ($p=0.021$). A similar difference was noted in the qualitative data. This suggests that the teacher participants find good rapport to be more important than do the student and recruiter participants.

Finally, teacher respondents found being flexible ($M=90$) as approximately ten points more important than did the student ($M=82.5$) and the recruiter respondents ($M=80$). Although ANOVA results had to be disregarded because the data were not distributed homogeneously, it is noteworthy that Kruskal-Wallis test did not show that there was a statistically significant difference between how important flexibility was for the three cohorts ($\chi^2(2)=1.563$, $p=0.458$). This is surprising since in the qualitative strand the student interviewees and informants did stress the importance of flexibility. Nevertheless, the low mean importance of this skill in the quantitative result could be attributed to the term itself chosen to be included in the survey, which perhaps did not reflect well the concept student informants had in mind.

Having analysed the importance the three cohorts attached to qualities and skills unrelated to the teacher's L1, it is important to investigate how important the teacher's 'nativeness' is in comparison to the other skills and qualities of effective English teachers discussed in this section. This is the focus of the following section.

4.5 Importance of Nativeness and Teacher's L1

As Table 32 and Figure 32 above show, when answers of all respondents are analysed together, it is clear that the four qualities related to the teacher's 'nativeness' or mother tongue – namely, *is a Native English Speaker* (item 1), *is a Non-Native English speaker* (item 7), *speaks English as a mother tongue* (item 11) and *speaks English as a foreign language* (item 12) - were the least important for all three cohorts. However, there are significant differences between the importance of these traits when student respondents' means are compared with those of teacher respondents (Table 33, Table 34 and Table 35, respectively). First, posthoc Tamhane's T2

analysis indicates that there is a significant difference ($p=0.00002$) between how important being a ‘native speaker’ (item 1) was for student ($M=67.9$) and teacher respondents ($M=17.9$). Furthermore, there is a significant difference ($p=0.00001$) between how important it was for student ($M=69.8$) and teacher respondents ($M=21.3$) that the L1 of an effective English teacher was English (item 11). This suggests that the teacher’s L1 and their ‘nativeness’ are significantly more important for student respondents than they are for the teacher respondents.

While the recruiter respondents also found item 1 and 11 to be relatively more important ($M=66$ and $M=64$, respectively) than did the teacher respondents, the difference was not statistically significant ($p=0.078$ and $p=0.101$). This could potentially be due to a very small sample size of the recruiter cohort ($n=5$).

The importance student and recruiter respondents attached to the teacher’s L1 or ‘nativeness’ could be related to their preference for having classes with and for hiring ‘native speaker’ teachers. Indeed, there is a positive correlation between student respondents’ preference for having classes with ‘native speaker’ teachers on the one hand, and the importance they attached both to their teacher being a ‘native speaker’ ($\rho=0.425$, $p=0.01$) and to their teacher’s L1 being English ($r=0.623$, $p=0.01$), on the other. This correlation might explain the preference for ‘native speakers’ shown by students (see 4.2.1). In addition, there is a high positive correlation between recruiter respondents’ preference for recruiting ‘native speaker’ teachers (see 4.2.4), and the importance they attached both to the teacher being a ‘native speaker’ ($\rho=0.841$, $p=0.028$) and to the teacher’s L1 being English ($\rho=0.881$, $p=0.015$). This can suggest that being a ‘native speaker’ might still give the teacher an advantage when looking for employment.

The discrepancy between the views of the three cohorts observed in the quantitative findings is not evident in the qualitative findings, however. First, only one student interviewee, out of a total of fifty-two who took part in focus groups or interviews, said it was important for them that their teacher is a ‘native speaker’:

I think that whether the teacher is a ‘native speaker’ is very important, for example to pick up the accent. Because if a ‘native speaker’ teaches me, I hear the accent as it’s supposed to be, and not as it was artificially learned. So, for this reason it is important. And it can help me to understand different ‘native speaker’ accents. At the beginning, it was difficult for me to understand the teacher from Manchester or Newcastle for example, but later after the classes it turned out that it was easier for me to understand these people when I go abroad. This is why I’m studying English - to understand the ‘native speakers’. And I really like British accent. [S2]

It is also quite clear from the comment above that this student’s preference for a ‘native speaker’ teacher was due to the student’s specific language goals. However, two other student interviewees pointed out that it was of much lesser importance to them whether their teacher was a ‘native speaker’ as they valued other skills and qualities much more highly:

I think that for me it doesn’t matter at all whether the teacher is a ‘native speaker’ or not. I need to speak grammatically correct, and the teacher must be able to pick out my mistakes and correct them. And whether he’s a ‘native speaker’, is irrelevant. [S1]

So, for me the most important thing is how the teacher conveys knowledge, rather than whether they’re a ‘native speaker’ or not. It’s important how they conduct the classes. So, I would have nothing against having classes with a Polish teacher, for example. And we talked about this in our class with other students, and we all agreed that the most important thing is how the teacher conveys knowledge. [S3]

It is also noteworthy that out of the forty-nine student informants not a single one mentioned ‘nativeness’ or L1 as an important quality of an effective English teacher. In fact, one student informant specifically pointed out that their current teacher, who is Polish, was the best teacher they had ever had:

I'm the oldest guy here in the group, so I've had a lot a lot of English teachers from South Asia, US, England, (...) and really I've had a lot of teachers, and lot of methods, and finally I have found the best teacher in my opinion, Mr Christopher [Polish teacher], maybe he has some faults, but I don't see them, because he's very polite, very professional, it means during the lesson he has individual approach to every student. [S20]

In addition, another student interviewee mentioned that some 'native speakers' teach English with no preparation:

But when it comes to teaching methodology, it depends, right? From the methodological point of view it doesn't matter whether the teacher is a 'native speaker' or not. Methodologically, the 'native speaker' might be terrible, and a Pole could teach brilliantly. It's a bit difficult to imagine that someone could teach the language without any pedagogical preparation and teach the language only because they're a 'native speaker'. Mind you, there are situations when this happens and you get 'native speakers' teaching with no preparation. I'm a teacher myself, so I know that some can't really teach or convey knowledge. [S2]

Furthermore, various teacher interviewees and informants also highlighted that sometimes 'non-native speaker' teachers can be more knowledgeable and have higher language awareness, which 'native speakers' might often lack:

In advanced classes I've often had it that the 'non-native speaker' teachers actually know the answer better than I do, because they've had to study it, they've had to learn it, they've had to go through this learning process. They know you can't put a gerund here, or whatever. And it's not just they know it, but they can also explain it, whereas I'm like - I don't know, let me think about it, or let me use the corpus. I think they are actually better equipped if they are proficient. [T3]

A 'native speaker' teacher friend of mine told me a story, when right after she did her CELTA, she was given a proficiency class. And many of the students there were actually training to be English teachers. So, she said that it was a really difficult class to teach, because they were actually better at it than she was. They were doing proficiency stuff and they knew everything. And this is someone who is a 'native speaker' and has good language awareness. [T4]

Given there are so many different ways to express ideas in English, to say one is wrong, just because one is unfamiliar with it, can happen quite often. This is one of the problems with 'native speakers'. They tend to project their English and not wider Englishes. [T9]

So, knowing how the language functions is really important. A lot of 'native speakers' speak the language, but have no idea of how it actually functions. [T20]

Several teacher interviewees also emphasised that being a 'native speaker' does not make someone a better teacher, and that what is important are teaching skills and qualifications:

The fact that you're a British or American citizen doesn't mean that you're going to be a good teacher. I've seen that. [T1]

I don't think these terms ['native' and 'non-native'] are useful. You don't have to be a 'native speaker' to teach English, or any other language. You just have to have knowledge of the language, but you don't have to be 'native'. Actually, you don't even have to sound 'native'. You just have to know the language. You can't run away from your accent or your roots. And that's not a problem. [T2]

Being a 'native speaker' is not important at all. I know terrible 'native speaker' teachers who teach, but who can't really can't teach, and really good 'non-native speaker' teachers. And I know both, I know good 'native speakers' and bad 'non-native speakers', but it's not down to their first language. For me being a teacher is not at all about whether you're 'native' or not. I have friends here, colleagues, who are 'non-native speakers' who are as if not more qualified than I am. (...) If someone asks me whether this or that teacher is a 'native', I'd always say it doesn't matter. Are they proficient, that's a more important question. [T3]

The 'native' or 'non-native' is not what makes someone a good teacher. There can be good and bad 'native speaker' teachers. [T4]

In addition, all recruiter interviewees also pointed out that while being a 'native speaker' might be a valuable addition, it is not the most important trait:

Whether someone is a 'native speaker' is of secondary importance to me. I believe that language awareness and the ability to convey knowledge are much more important, and they are the key factors when teaching a language. On very high levels, where far-reaching precision is important, then OK a 'native speaker' is incredibly valuable. However, then they are not so much teaching the language any more, but are a good communication partner, a semantic one in using the language, but it is not a classic learning any more. So, the first language of the teacher isn't the key, but it is of great importance on higher levels. On the other hand, it's importance on lower levels is minimal. [R1]

From my perspective it's not the most important difference, being a 'native' or a 'non-native speaker'. I think it's much more important how the person is prepared to their job, their qualifications. It's about language awareness, methodology, and the way they teach, rather than whether we are or are not a 'native speaker'. [R2]

If I had to choose between a 'native speaker' who doesn't know how to teach, or is mediocre, or I could choose a Spaniard, or a Hungarian, or a Romanian, as we've had such teachers here in the past, who were super proficient; it would be very easy to decide. I'd choose the 'non-native speaker'. [R3]

The 'native' or 'non-native' question is a bit redundant. It's about whether the teacher is effective. (...) I also talk to other recruiters in the city and we're all of the same opinion - educational background is they key [not the teacher's first language]. [R4]

A 'native speaker' isn't necessarily a teacher. Being a teacher is the most important thing. And whether that teacher is from this or other country is irrelevant. [R5]

Despite the fact that the recruiter interviewees seem to place more emphasis on qualifications, experience and pedagogical preparation rather than 'nativeness', some 'native speaker' teacher interviewees pointed out the privilege that they had enjoyed in ELT, casting some doubt on the sincerity of the recruiter interviewees' comments above:

I've seen and experienced as well that the schools would hire 'native speakers' more based on their first language rather than qualifications. For 'non-native speakers' to be able to teach, we have to have a lot [of qualifications]. 'Natives' just have to be born. So, for example I got a job at a Portuguese school here in Poland and they didn't even want to look at my CV. They were just overjoyed to have me just because I'm from Brazil and I speak Portuguese as my mother tongue. [T2]

Even though I agree with the whole equality movement, I still use 'nativeness' to my advantage. When I came to Poland, I would advertise myself as a 'native speaker' teacher. But I'm really interested to see what happens in the future. Hopefully, we will have websites like qualifiedteacher.com rather than nativespeaker.com So, even though I support equality, I'm not doing much about it, because I can get certain benefits from being a 'native speaker'. [T3]

I think a lot of 'native speakers' have a very easy ride into teaching. It's quite smooth at the beginning. You do a 4-week course, pick a country and off you go. [T5]

This favouritism that 'native speakers' still enjoy was echoed by one of the recruiter interviewees who highlighted that:

I know from experience, not as a director, but as a former teacher, that if a school does not want to hire a 'non-native speaker', they won't hire them. [R5]

All in all then, while the qualitative data might indicate that recruiters are not concerned about the teacher's L1, the quantitative data in this and other sections (see 4.2.4) suggest that 'nativeness' is still an important hiring criterion. With regards to students, it is encouraging that none of those who took part in the focus groups, and only one during the interviews, out of a total of fifty-two who participated in both, mentioned that 'nativeness' was an important quality of an effective English teacher. Nevertheless, the quantitative data presented in this and previous sections (see 4.2.1) indicate that there is still some preference among students for 'native speaker' teachers. This preference is possibly further strengthened by their preference for an English only class (see 4.3.1) and 'native-like' pronunciation (see 4.3.3). Finally, it seems

that it is the teacher participants who recognise most readily that being a ‘native speaker’ is not a qualification and does not make one a better teacher.

Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the SD for all three cohorts was relatively high for the responses concerning the importance of being a ‘native speaker’ as well as the importance of L1. For example the SD for the former was 25.4 for student, 24.2 for recruiter and 23.8 for teacher respondents. Similarly, as far the responses concerning the importance of L1 being English are concerned, the SD was also high ($SD=29.2$ for student respondents, $SD=22.4$ for recruiter respondents, and $SD=26.7$ for teacher respondents). This might indicate that even though student and recruiter respondents seem to attach greater importance to the two traits than do the teacher respondents, there is some disagreement among the three cohorts. Therefore, further research on this matter on a larger sample of participants might help shed light on this issue.

4.6 Conclusion

This chapter presented the data collected for this project. Both quantitative and qualitative results were analysed. In order to facilitate the presentation and to provide a clear link with the theoretical discussion of the topic carried out in Chapter Two, the data were organised following the order of the RQs. The same order is maintained in the following chapter, where the data are discussed, interpreted and linked to the literature.

5 Chapter Five: Discussion of Research Findings

This chapter discusses the most important findings of this mixed-methods inquiry, the aim of which was to better understand native speakerism in the private ELT sector in Poland. It is divided into five sections, each of which corresponds to one of the RQs listed in Chapter Three (see 3.3.2). This division into sections in this chapter also corresponds to that in Chapter Two, which reviewed the relevant literature, and Chapter Four, which presented the results, thus establishing a clear link between the theoretical and empirical discussions.

The first section focuses on how the three groups of participants defined the term ‘native speaker’. Second, the extent to which the three cohorts prefer ‘native speaker’ teachers is analysed. The reasons for this preference, or lack thereof, are subsequently outlined. Afterwards, the qualities and skills of effective English teachers as identified by the participants are presented. This is followed by a discussion of the extent to which the three cohorts consider being a ‘native speaker’ an important quality of an effective English teacher. Finally, the practical implications of this research for teaching, materials writing and teacher education are suggested.

5.1 Defining Who a Native Speaker Is

It is difficult to compare the results of this study with those obtained by other researchers, as the literature review indicates that no other research has asked students, teachers and recruiters to define who a ‘native speaker’ is. The literature reviewed in Chapter Two (see 2.1) can broadly be divided into two types. The first is largely theoretical in nature, whereby linguists provide arguments and definitions of who a ‘native speaker’ is (Davies, 2003, 2013). Although the second type more heavily relies on empirical data, it focuses largely on self-perceptions and lived experiences of individual ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’ to show the subjectivity and ambiguity of the two terms (Faez, 2011; Kubota & Fujimoto, 2013; Piller, 2002). Consequently, this study provides a unique and novel perspective on how students, teachers and recruiters understand the concept of a ‘native speaker’.

First, place of birth emerges from the data as an important characteristic of a ‘native speaker’, which the participants in this study seemed to agree on. Having spent most of one’s life in a non-English-speaking country (see 4.1.2), or having non-English-speaking parents (see 4.1.3), does not alter the perception of the respondents, the majority of whom agreed that individuals born in an English-speaking country should still be considered ‘native speakers’. On the other hand, even someone who has one parent that speaks English as their first language, but who was born in a non-English-speaking country (see 4.1.5), was not considered a ‘native speaker’ by most respondents.

However, it must be noted here that it is the student respondents who associated the image of a ‘native speaker’ significantly more strongly than did the teacher respondents with someone who was born in an English-speaking country, to English-speaking parents and who has lived most of their lives and completed their education there. On the other hand, teacher respondents and interviewees seem to more readily recognise that it is much more common now for ‘native speakers’ to have non-English-speaking parents or live in non-English-speaking countries due to increasing globalisation. These differences were also evident in the qualitative data:

It’s quite obvious for me that a ‘native speaker’ is someone who was born and who completed their education in that language, and who is teaching that language. I also think that the mother tongue for this person is the language mostly spoken in that country, the official language, in which the person studied. [S2]

Defining a 'native speaker' is a bit difficult, because there are a lot of grey areas in between what we normally think as a 'native speaker' and a 'non-native speaker'. There is a lot of movement of people nowadays, isn't there? Someone who wasn't born in the UK, for example, but grew up in the UK their entire lives; their English might be just as good as someone born in the UK. I don't think it's about where you're born necessarily. And then some people's parents use English at home, but might not live in the UK. Perhaps it's not even to do with where you live or were born, but it's to do with your level of English, because people who learn English from a very young age can learn English to a 'native' level. [T5]

Despite these discrepancies between student and teacher participants' views, it does seem that the three cohorts link being a 'native speaker' to having acquired the language in early childhood. This is indeed one of the six indicators of 'native-like' proficiency identified by Davies (2003, 2013). In fact, it might be the only proficiency-related factor that is exclusive to a 'native speaker' (see 2.1.2). Such a view, namely that one is a 'native speaker' of the language one learned first, is quite widespread both in the ELT community and among the general public, as is evidenced by this comment provided by one of the recruiter interviewees:

The very definition of who a 'native speaker' is quite clear. It's somebody (...) who grew up speaking the language and whose physical development is closely linked to their language development. [R2]

However, Davies (2003, 2013) himself questions whether childhood acquisition should be seen as the defining factor of 'nativeness' since it is possible for adult 'non-native speaker' learners to be virtually indistinguishable from 'native speakers'. He suggests that the proficiency acquired by the child can potentially also be learned later in life. Yet another potential problem with utilising childhood acquisition as the characteristic of a 'native speaker' is that it is might be unclear which the first language the child acquires as their mother tongue would be, especially as far as bilingual or multilingual individuals are concerned. Presumably, someone born in an English-speaking country to non-English-speaking parents would not have acquired English at home as their mother tongue or first language, but only outside of the home.

In addition, the results of this study might indicate that it is not so much early childhood acquisition *per se*, but rather early childhood acquisition in an English-speaking country from the Inner Circle that is important for the participants. For example, a person born in India who completed their entire education in English was not considered a 'native speaker' by over half of the respondents (see Vignette One in 4.1.1). This is despite the fact that the individual described in Vignette One is identical to the individual described in Vignette Three (see 4.1.3), that is, someone born to non-English-speaking parents in an English-speaking country, except for the fact that the individual in Vignette One was born in India rather than in an Inner Circle Country. In other words, in both situations English was acquired outside home and is never used at home with the person's parents.

A close association of a 'native speaker' with the Inner Circle, especially the UK and the US, was also evident in the qualitative data collected for this thesis:

I also think that the term 'native speaker' refers to someone from Britain or the US. [R1]

I'd probably conclude that in that sort of context [India], [the person] probably just about doesn't qualify as a 'native speaker'. [T1]

I think that someone born for example in India or Kenia cannot be called a 'native speaker'. [S1]

This bias against Outer Circle users of English is in line with the literature presented in Chapter One, which suggested that the image of a 'native speaker' is very closely connected with a white and Western-looking person who hails from an Inner Circle country (see 2.1.4). For example, according to Kubota and Fujimoto (2013, p. 197), being a 'native speaker' is "a proxy of whiteness". Amin (2004, p. 65) adds that a 'native speaker' is often reified as someone who has a "White accent". This can lead to the marginalisation and discrimination of English users from the Outer Circle by recruiters, colleagues and students (Ali, 2009; Higgins, 2003; Kim, 2013). The results of this study should nevertheless be interpreted with caution as it did not

present participants with visual or auditory cues (e.g., pictures, recordings) that could further help ascertain whether a bias against Outer Circle users of English indeed exists and whether a similar bias would also be observed against non-white ‘native speakers’ from the Inner Circle.

Another finding that emerges from the data is that most participants view ‘nativeness’ as a fixed trait. In other words, someone born to non-English-speaking parents in a non-English-speaking country who only moved to an English-speaking country as an adult was not considered a ‘native speaker’ by almost two thirds of the respondents, despite being completely proficient in English and using it more often than their mother tongue (see 4.1.4). This finding is in contrast to some scholars' suggestion that being a ‘native speaker’ is something that one does, a performative act of sorts (Piller, 2002). It also contradicts some SLA studies which indicate that it might be possible for adult learners to become entirely indistinguishable from ‘native speakers’ in terms of language proficiency (Birdsong, 2004; Davies, 2001). This is interesting as it might indicate that neither the teachers nor the students believe it is possible to become as proficient as a ‘native speaker’. In other words, while the ‘native speaker’ is “safely ensconced in a lofty position of unassailable authority and absolute infallibility” (Rajagopalan, 2005, p. 285), the ‘non-native speaker’ forever remains a ‘near-native’, an incomplete copy of the ‘native speaker’ (Firth & Wagner, 1997; Valdés, 1998).

Nevertheless, while the data discussed thus far indicate that many participants have somewhat fixed ideas about who a ‘native speaker’ is - namely, someone born in an Inner Circle country who learned English in early childhood - several interviewees indicated that it might sometimes be difficult to define who a ‘native speaker’ is (see 4.1.5). This is in line with scholars such as Mesthrie (2010) and Faez (2011), who point out that an understanding of ‘nativeness’ as a fixed trait acquired in early childhood or at birth is outdated and incommensurate with a world where children are frequently born in multilingual households, and where people constantly move to different countries.

Bearing this in mind, several teacher interviewees suggested during the follow-up interviews that the labels ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ were irrelevant and should either be replaced or not used in the context of ELT. For example, three teachers made the following remarks:

To argue whether a certain teacher is a ‘native speaker’ is to miss the point. [T1]

I never use the term ‘native speaker’ myself. I use ‘proficient speaker’, which of course in itself is questionable what is ‘proficient speaker’. But I think defining ‘native’ and ‘non-native’ isn’t in fact very helpful. [T3]

But ‘native speaker’ isn’t a very good label because a lot of people who are ‘native speakers’ aren’t necessarily very fluent in the sense that they can’t speak the language well. So, it’s a bad label anyway. ‘Fluent or proficient’ is a better label. [T4]

These suggestions echo what numerous scholars have proposed over the years; namely, that the labels ‘native’ and ‘non-native’ should be replaced by terms such as ‘proficient speaker’ (Paikeday, 1985b), ‘expert user’ (Rampton, 1990), ‘L1/L2 English user’ (Cook, 2005) and ‘mono/bi/multilingual English user’ (Jenkins, 2015b). The above findings from this study also reflect the position taken by Farrell (2015), who highlights that the question of ‘nativeness’ is irrelevant to ELT as it does not influence the teacher’s ability to teach the language. Finally, they are also in line with the criticisms of the comparative fallacy (see 2.4.2), in which ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers are constantly compared and attributed a series of fixed strengths and weaknesses based on their L1.

However, as argued earlier (see 2.1.6), abandoning the two terms does not seem viable. Consequently, in order to reflect the subjectivity of the two terms and the difficulty in defining them, it is suggested that they are used in between inverted commas, as proposed by Holliday (2005), and as done in this thesis. In addition, bearing in mind the irrelevance of ‘nativeness’ to the ability to teach English, it is also suggested that the focus of research be shifted from

defining the strengths and weaknesses of the two groups, to investigating the qualities and skills of effective language teachers (see 2.4.5).

5.2 Preference for Native Speaker Teachers

Having answered the first RQ in the previous section, the discussion can now move to the three cohorts' preference for 'native speaker' teachers. This aspect was the focus of RQ 2. As the data analysis showed, there are some important differences between the three cohorts and their preference for 'native speaker' teachers, which are presented in more detail in this section.

First, as far as the recruiter respondents are concerned, most would prefer language classes with a 'native speaker'. This is also reflected in their hiring decisions, since all five stated that they preferred hiring 'native speaker' teachers and that the teacher's L1 was an important hiring criterion. These findings are in line with the literature (see 2.4.3), which points to a widespread preference for 'native speaker' teachers among recruiters (Clark & Paran, 2007; Mahboob et al., 2004), and which is reflected in discriminatory recruitment policies (Kiczkowiak, 2015; Mahboob & Golden, 2013; Selvi, 2010). It is interesting to note, however, that the recruiter respondents were either pleased or very pleased with the 'non-native speaker' teachers they had hired in the past (see 4.2.4). Furthermore, all recruiter interviewees highlighted that 'nativeness' was not the decisive factor when recruiting new teachers. For example, one recruiter interviewee said that they *"also talk to other recruiters in the city [who are] all of the same opinion - educational background is the key [not the teacher's first language]"* [R3].

This discrepancy between the findings can be interpreted in three ways. First, similarly to the conclusions reached by Clark and Paran (2007) and Mahboob et al. (2004), 'non-native speakers' are much less likely to be hired unless they are more experienced and more highly qualified than 'native speaker' candidates, since recruiters are likely to base their hiring decision on the teacher's L1. On the other hand, it might also be true that the 'non-nativeness' is likely to be of lesser importance to the recruiters when that 'non-native' teacher is appropriately qualified, experienced and proficient. Finally, it is also possible that the recruiters were reluctant to express the prejudices against 'non-native speaker' teachers that was evident in the quantitative results during the qualitative interviews, possibly due to the fact that they were aware of the current debate around and movement for more equality in ELT.

Furthermore, recruiter respondents' preference for hiring 'native speaker' teachers might stem from a perceived demand from students that is evident in the data gathered in this study (see 4.2.1). For example, almost nine in ten (85.2%, $n=52$) student respondents preferred having classes with a 'native speaker', and 75.4 per cent ($n=46$) thought that their teacher's L1 was important. The above findings would indicate a very strong preference for 'native speaker' teachers among students. Yet, when analysed more carefully, students' preferences seem much more nuanced. First, it is worth noting that 49.2 per cent ($n=30$) of the students said they preferred being taught by both 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers, and 59 per cent ($n=36$) would prefer studying in a school that hired both 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers. While this ratio is lower than that reported in other studies (Benke & Medgyes, 2005; Kula, 2011; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005), in which the students actually preferred being taught by both groups more than exclusively by 'native speakers', it nonetheless represents a significant proportion of the students, which should perhaps be taken into account by the recruiters. This is further supported by the qualitative data collected during this project:

I think that for me it doesn't matter at all whether the teacher is a 'native speaker' or not. [S1]

For me it doesn't really matter if someone was born in an English-speaking country, or in another country and simply learned the language. [S3]

It should be noted, however, that the initial preference for ‘native speaker’ teachers might affect student respondents’ choice of the language school. For example, the majority (78.7%, $n=47$) of the student respondents checks whether the school employs ‘native speakers’ before enrolling in the course, and almost half (50.8%, $n=31$) would prefer studying in a school that only employs ‘native speakers’. It is not possible to directly compare these results with those obtained by other researchers, as the literature review (see 2.4.4) did not yield any studies that had investigated how students’ preference for ‘native speakers’ might affect their choice of a language school. Consequently, although this study clearly indicates that the presence of ‘native speakers’ in a school is an important factor for the students, further research is needed to explore this issue.

Despite the importance student respondents attached to the presence of ‘native speakers’ in a school, their satisfaction with ‘non-native speaker’ teachers was surprisingly high. For example, almost eight in ten (78%, $n=41$) student respondents reported that they were either pleased or very pleased with the ‘non-native speaker’ teachers they had been taught by; and only 11.4 per cent ($n=7$) would complain to the school director if they had classes with a ‘non-native speaker’ teacher. This is in line with some of the literature presented previously (see 2.4.4). For example, having surveyed ESL students in the US, Moussu (2006) reports that 79 per cent of the respondents would recommend having classes with a ‘non-native speaker’ to their friends. This suggests that while there might be an initial negative bias towards ‘non-native speaker’ teachers, the students do appreciate their ability to teach and are in general pleased with the experience.

Consequently, it is very likely then that asking the students whether they prefer a ‘native’ or a ‘non-native speaker’ is the wrong question to ask, since in this study student satisfaction ratings of the ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers that had taught them previously were almost identical (see 4.2.1). This is further supported by a recent study conducted by Aslan and Thompson (2016), which concluded that the student positive or negative ratings of the teachers they were being taught by did not correlate with the teacher’s L1. It is likely then that when students are asked about their preference for ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers, they might fall back on the negative prejudices against the former group, which have become deeply imbedded in ELT through native speakerism (see 2.2.2). This can be seen in a recent study on students’ attitudes towards pronunciation teachers (Levis et al., 2017). Even though the students thought being a ‘native speaker’ was the least important skill of a good English teacher on the list provided by the researchers, and even though they strongly agreed that it did not matter to them where the teacher was from, they still preferred an unqualified ‘native speaker’ to teach them pronunciation over a qualified ‘non-native speaker’ teacher. These results show just how deeply embedded the native speakerist discourse has become in ELT. Consequently, it is suggested that the focus of future research shifts away from comparing the two groups to examining their underlying reasons in order to design practical awareness-raising activities that might help tackle the bias (see 6.2).

Finally, the teacher participants seemed to be the least prejudiced group against ‘non-native speakers’. In fact, the teacher respondents’ preference for being taught by ‘native speaker’ teachers was significantly ($p=0.0003$) lower than that of the student respondents. This is also reflected in the teacher respondents’ preference for working in a school that values equal employment opportunities and treats ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers equally (see 4.2.3). For example, three quarters (75%, $n=18$) responded that they preferred working in a school that gives equal employment opportunities to both groups. In addition, almost nine in ten teachers (87.5%, $n=21$) would not like to work in a school that only employed ‘native speakers’ or only ‘non-native speakers’. It is difficult to compare these findings with those found in the literature as it proved impossible to find another study that attempted to investigate teachers’ preferences in a manner similar to this study (see 2.4.1). Consequently, no data is

available on teachers' preference for working with 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers in the literature.

Some studies have however measured teachers' beliefs about the two groups, primarily focusing on each group's strengths and weaknesses. Nevertheless, in contrast to Aboshiha's (2008, as cited in Aboshiha, 2015, p. 44) or Canh's (2013) results, which suggested a rather condescending attitude of 'native speaker' teachers to their 'non-native' colleagues, no such negative perceptions were observed in this study. In fact, some teacher interviewees were very complimentary of 'non-native speaker' teachers. For example:

I have a lot of respect for them, and for the hard work they've had to put in to learn the language and to become teachers. [T5]

Likewise, there is nothing in the data to suggest that 'non-native speaker' teachers had derogatory attitudes towards other 'non-native speaker' teachers, as reported by Doan (2016). However, there is one indication in the qualitative data that some 'non-native speaker' teachers in Poland might feel insecure and value themselves less than 'native speaker' teachers. One of the 'native speaker' teacher interviewees remarked that she was "*surprised with [her 'non-native'] colleagues who depreciate themselves*" [T4]. Although this is not borne out by the remainder of the collected data, this finding would be in line with the literature since many researchers report that 'non-native speaker' teachers suffer from low self-esteem and low confidence (Bernat, 2008; Llurda, 2009a; Medgyes, 1983).

All in all, it is suggested that exclusively hiring 'native speakers' will not reflect who the students actually prefer to be taught by if hiring decisions are to be made based on students' preferences. Indeed, it seems that both research and recruitment need to go beyond the simplistic dichotomy of who is better – 'native' or 'non-native' – and focus on each teacher as an individual whose ability to teach is not dependent on their L1, but on their pedagogical preparedness for the job. In fact, ensuring an equal balance between the two groups and hiring teachers who share the students' linguistic and cultural background can lead to a more successful ELT programme, as evidenced by D'Annunzio (1991). In addition, such balance is also preferred by the majority of teacher respondents in this study. Consequently, it is suggested here that a policy of employing only 'native speakers' might have an adverse effect on how the teachers perceive the school. It could also negatively affect the atmosphere in the staffroom. This can be seen as an important piece of information for the recruiters when making hiring decisions.

This section has shown that recruiters and students seem to be significantly more biased against 'non-native speaker' teachers than the teachers themselves are. As a result, it is important to now discuss the possible reasons for these differences, which is the focus of the following section.

5.3 Reasons for Preference for Native Speaker Teachers

The literature review conducted in Chapter Two yielded four possible reasons why the three cohorts might express a preference for 'native speaker' teachers, which were subsequently included in the questionnaire and also further explored during the qualitative interviews. These results were presented in the previous chapter (see 4.3) and are further discussed below. Before doing so, however, it is worth pointing out that no study so far has attempted to draw correlations between student, teacher or recruiter beliefs and their preference for 'native speaker' teachers. While it is true that some studies have shown that this preference can for example vary depending on students' level (Chun, 2014), or previous experience with 'non-native speaker' teachers (Pacek, 2005), no research to date has attempted to show whether any

of the beliefs that support native speakerist ideology correlate with the bias against ‘non-native speaker’ teachers. Consequently, this study offers an important contribution to the literature.

First, a possible reason for preferring ‘native speakers’ is a belief that foreign languages are best learnt through exclusive use of the target language and by avoiding the use of students’ L1 as much as possible. This bias towards a monolingual classroom remains strong among some ELT practitioners and researchers, despite calls for a greater presence of students’ L1 (G. Hall & Cook, 2012). Student and recruiter respondents in particular feel that L1 use should be avoided even though there is no evidence that banning L1 from the classroom is beneficial; in fact, evidence suggests that using students’ L1 can have many advantages (Cots, 2008; Kirkpatrick, 2007; Yphantides, 2013). For example, 52.5 per cent ($n=31$) of student respondents and 60 per cent ($n=3$) of recruiter respondents strongly agreed that it is best to only use English in an English class. As one of the student informants put it, the teacher should “*speak all the time English*” [S11].

Furthermore, the majority of student (55.9%, $n=33$) and recruiter respondents (60%, $n=3$) in the quantitative strand disagreed that the use of L1 in class was helpful. This is contrast to the results obtained by Brooks-Lewis (2009), who studied Mexican learners of English. He found an overwhelmingly positive attitude towards the use of L1 in class among these students. Japanese learners in Carson and Kasihara’s (2012) research similarly held that the teachers should know their L1 and be able to use it in order to help them, for example, with L2 use or to offer emotional support. Nevertheless, some other studies show that not all students have positive attitudes towards the use of L1. For example, Schweers’s (1999) student participants from Puerto Rico agreed that L1 use might aid presentation of new vocabulary items, but they did not agree that it was appropriate for previously covered material, or that it would increase their confidence. Students’ attitudes towards the use of L1 can also vary depending on their level, with lower level students preferring more L1 use than higher level ones (Carson & Kasihara, 2012; Mouhanna, 2009; Norman, 2007). While little is known about the attitudes of recruiters towards the use of L1, Mouhanna’s (2009) small-scale study reveals an institutional bias against the employment of L1 in classes.

The student and recruiter participants’ negative view of the use of L1 might explain why a ‘native speaker’ teacher is preferred by those two groups (see 4.2.1). It is often the case that the ‘native speaker’ teachers do not speak the local language, or that they do not speak it well enough to be able to confidently use it in class, which means that the students have to speak English in class. As one of the teachers interviewed for this study put it, the students “*want a person with whom they don’t have a choice of speaking Polish*” [T2]. This might be because the students will “*ask questions in Polish, because it’s simpler and faster*” [R3] when taught by a teacher who speaks the students’ L1 well. Although no such correlation ($\rho=0.649$, $p=0.236$) between recruiter respondents’ preference for an English-only classroom and their preference for hiring ‘native speakers’ was found, there was a significant correlation between student respondents’ preference for ‘native speaker’ teachers and their belief that it is best to only use English ($\rho=0.496$, $p=0.0001$). There was also a negative correlation between this belief and student respondents’ preference for having classes with ‘non-native speaker’ teachers ($\rho=-0.436$, $p=0.001$). This suggests that there might be a need to address the belief that English is best learnt through monolingual classroom instruction in order to help tackle the bias against ‘non-native speaker’ teachers.

Student and recruiter respondents’ views stand in contrast to those of the teacher respondents, who were significantly ($p=0.025$) more positive towards the use of L1 in class than were the student respondents. This understanding of the usefulness of using L1 in class was also reflected in the comments made during the follow-up interviews. For example, one teacher interviewee mentioned that knowing the students’ L1 can allow them “*to figure out what problems students might be having*” [T1].

As Mouhanna (2009) points out, relatively few studies have focused on teachers' attitudes towards the use of L1 in class. However, the few existing studies suggest a less positive attitude than that observed in this study. For example, in the aforementioned study by Schweers (1999), the teachers favoured an English-only classroom. Auerbach (1993) highlights that some of the teacher participants actually felt guilty about using L1 in the classroom, even though over three-quarters of them reported using L1 from time to time. These feelings of guilt show how deeply embedded the monolingual discourse is in the minds of some ELT professionals, despite the continuous lack of evidence that could justify it. A more recent MMR project in the Chinese context also revealed somewhat mixed attitudes towards L1 use among the teachers, ranging from very positive to very negative (Song, 2009).

All in all then, it seems that a negative view on the use of L1 and a positive attitude to an English-only classroom is more prevalent among the student and recruiter participants in this study. The data also indicate that a correlation might exist between these attitudes and the preference for having classes with 'native speaker' teachers. Since no other studies seem to have aimed to examine the relationship between these ideas, further research is needed to ascertain whether such a correlation can be generalised.

The second possible reason for a preference for 'native speaker' teachers is a belief that a 'non-native speaker' will teach incorrect English, or that a 'native speaker' will teach learners better English than a 'non-native speaker' teacher. While it is somewhat reassuring to note that most respondents in the three cohorts disagreed that students will learn bad English from a 'non-native speaker', it is striking that almost half (48.3%, $n=29$) of the student and 60 per cent ($n=3$) of the recruiter respondents agreed that a 'native speaker' will teach students better English. These findings stand in stark contrast to the two thirds (62.5%, $n=15$) of teacher respondents who disagreed with this statement. The difference was significant between students' and teachers' responses ($p=0.001$) indicating that the former group more strongly agreed that a 'native speaker' would teach them better English.

This is further confirmed by some of the qualitative data. For example, one recruiter interviewee commented that the language of 'non-native speakers':

is not internalised to the degree that they were weaned on it, so to say. They are capable of teaching up to a certain level, but for example on C2, a 'native speaker' would be advisable. [R1]

On the other hand, one of the teacher interviewees emphasised that he didn't "*think 'native speakers' are better language models for students*" [T3].

While the literature review suggests that no studies have been conducted on recruiters' views on this issue, a substantial body of research shows that students may view 'native speakers' as the ideal language model. For example, Timmis (2002) identified a strong preference for the 'native speaker' language norm among students. Similarly, all participants in a very large study of over a thousand English learners in China considered British and American English as the only examples of correct English (X. Hu, 2004). The belief in the linguistic superiority of 'native speakers' held by students and recruiters can lead many to think that 'native speakers' are indeed better suited to teach English, an idea that is common among the general public in Poland according to one of the recruiter interviewees:

I think in general among people there is a feeling that a 'native speaker' is a better teacher. [R3]

Nevertheless, no significant correlation ($\rho=614$, $p=0.07$) was observed between student respondents' belief that a 'native speaker' would teach them better English and their preference for classes with a 'native speaker'. This questions some of the findings from the literature. For example, Mahboob (2004) shows that students not only perceive 'native speaker' teachers as better language models, but also as better teachers. Furthermore, several authors have noted a correlation between students' favourable ratings of 'native speaker' speech and positive ratings

of ‘native speaker’ teachers (McKenzie, 2008; Scales et al., 2006). As a result, further research is needed in order to investigate this issue (see 6.1).

On the other hand, with regards to the teacher respondents, it is somewhat surprising that they disagreed that a ‘native speaker’ would teach better English since some authors have reported that especially ‘non-native speaker’ teachers view ‘native speaker’ language as the ideal model. For example, Sifakis and Sougari’s (2005) study of Greek state school teachers showed that they regarded ‘native speakers’ as the ultimate authority on the correct use of English. Likewise, Doan (2016) notes that some ‘non-native speaker’ teachers consider ‘native speakers’ to speak better and more correct English. Finally, researchers have also pointed out that many teachers express a strong preference for SE, which is frequently associated with ‘native speakers’, as the model of instruction (Bozzo, 2015; Timmis, 2002).

The participants' views on the international nature of the English language might be another reason behind the preference for ‘native speaker’ teachers. First, most participants understand that the English language is now predominantly used by ‘non-native speakers’ and consequently believe that students should be taught international English (see 4.3.3). One student stated this quite explicitly in an interview, saying the following:

I don't really care about speaking like a Brit, for example. I care much more about learning to communicate in this language than having a typically British or Australian or American vocabulary, for example. [S3]

Moreover, there was also an almost unanimous disagreement among the three cohorts that only English used by a ‘native speaker’ is correct English. In fact, only nine respondents in total agreed with this statement. These results sharply contrast with those obtained by Hu (2004), Sifakis and Sougari (2005) or Timmis (2002), all of whom demonstrated that students and teachers exhibit a strong preference for ‘native speaker’ norms. The results of this study might show that there is a sense among the participants that ‘non-native speakers’ should also be seen as valid users of the English language and that they should claim ownership of it. Such claims have also been made in the literature, most notably by Cook (2005, 2007) and Widdowson (1994).

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that significant differences were found between the responses given by teacher and student respondents ($p=0.0002$). Namely, the former disagreed significantly more strongly that only English used by a ‘native speaker’ was correct English. This is in line with some of the literature, which also indicates that the teachers are the ones who seem to have more favourable attitudes to non-standard and ‘non-native’ varieties of English than the students (see 2.3.3), despite their preference for SE noted earlier in this section. For example, the teacher participants in Choi’s (2016) study objected to the idea that ‘native speaker’ English was the only appropriate goal for their students. Similarly, in an investigation of English teachers’ attitudes to ELF and SE conducted in Oman, the participants highlighted the importance of intelligibility over a focus on a particular ‘native speaker’ norm (Buckingham, 2015).

Likewise, although most respondents in this study also disagreed that some varieties of English were better than others, or that Indian English constituted an example of incorrect English, this disagreement was significantly weaker among the student respondents than among the teacher respondents ($p=0.033$ and $p=0.00004$, respectively). There is also one indication in the qualitative data from the focus groups which might suggest that some students view certain varieties of English less favourably. When asked about the qualities and skills of effective teachers, one student informant commented that “*the teacher cannot have Scottish accent*” [S6], which was followed by laughter from the entire focus group. This is in line with the literature, which indicates that some students view certain ‘native speaker’ Englishes as inferior. For example, in a study of Hong Kong learners, Sung (2014) found that some students viewed certain non-standard accents less favourably and did not consider them as desirable learning

goals. In addition, there is substantial evidence that ‘native speakers’ of colour, particularly those from the Outer Circle, are not seen as real ‘native speakers’ and have been found to face negative attitudes and widespread discrimination both from students and recruiters (Ali, 2009; Kubota & Fujimoto, 2013).

Moreover, as mentioned previously in this section, it is also worth pointing out that the student and recruiter respondents still thought a ‘native speaker’ would teach learners better English. In a way, it is reflective of what Medgyes (1983) referred to as the ‘schizophrenic ‘non-native speaker’ mind, or what Llorca (2009a) described as the Stockholm syndrome. This desire among ‘non-native speakers’ to be something they can never be is captured well by this comment from a student interviewee:

I'd really want to, I really wish to speak as fluently as a 'native speaker', being able to weave in different phrasal verbs and idioms, and use the language so nicely, fluently and beautifully. [S2]

Finally, the fourth possible reason behind the preference for ‘native speaker’ teachers might be a belief that having a foreign accent is something negative and that students should aim for a ‘native-like’ accent. First, it is interesting to note that the only respondents who disagreed that it was acceptable for students to speak with a foreign accent were the student respondents themselves. Indeed, they agreed significantly less strongly that having a foreign accent was acceptable than the recruiter ($p=0.0001$) and the teacher respondents ($p=0.000001$). Likewise, it was again the student respondents who agreed significantly more strongly ($p=0.007$) than the teacher respondents that learners should aim to reduce their foreign accent. Finally, the student respondents also agreed significantly more strongly ($p=0.0001$) than the teacher respondents that speaking English like a ‘native speaker’ should be the goal for students. This difference of opinion is evident when contrasting the below comments from a student and a teacher interviewee:

I personally think there's nothing wrong with having a foreign accent. [T1]

So, personally, I'd really like to speak nice English, like a 'native speaker'. [S1]

This preference for ‘native-like’ pronunciation among students has also been noted by other researchers. For example, many studies on students’ perceptions of ‘native’ and ‘non-native’ accents reveal that learners prefer the former (He & Miller, 2011; McKenzie, 2008; Scales et al., 2006; Scheuer, 2008). In addition, it is worth noting that some students tend to idealise ‘native-like’ pronunciation and might perceive it as the original, perfect or unaccented English (Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005; Reis, 2011; Timmis, 2002). This idealisation can be inferred from S1 comment above, which describes ‘native speaker’ English as nice, and can even cause students to prefer a ‘native speaker’ teacher with no pedagogical training to teach them pronunciation, over a ‘non-native’ one who is appropriately trained for the job (Levis et al., 2017).

It is also important to note that the student respondents’ belief that speaking English like a ‘native speaker’ should be the goal for learners correlated with their preference for ‘native speaker’ teachers ($\rho=0.231$, $p=0.039$), which is further evidenced in this comment from a student interviewee:

I think that whether the teacher is a 'native speaker' is very important, for example to pick up the accent. Because if a 'native speaker' teaches me, I hear the accent as it's supposed to be, and not as it was artificially learned. [S2]

These findings are in line with the literature as there is evidence that learners tend to associate ‘native-like’ accents with better teaching skills. For example, Mahboob (2004), who studied learners enrolled in intensive English programmes in US universities, noted that the students not only tended to associate ‘native speakers’ with having better pronunciation, but also with being better teachers. Likewise, the various studies that have compared ‘native’ and ‘non-

native' pronunciation guises found that students associated those guises which were viewed as 'native-like' with better teaching skills (He & Miller, 2011; Scheuer, 2008).

Bearing this in mind, it is important to assess whether students mention 'nativeness' or 'native-like' accents as important qualities or skills of effective teachers. This is discussed further in the following two sections.

5.4 Qualities and Skills of Effective English Teachers

As indicated previously (see 2.4.2 and 2.4.5), it is vital to shift the focus of the discussion from comparing 'native' and 'non-native speakers' to the qualities and skills of effective English teachers, since the teacher's L1 is not indicative of their ability to teach the language. In addition, asking students whether they prefer a 'native' or a 'non-native speaker' teacher is misleading as it does not specify teacher's preparedness to teach English, suggesting to students that both the 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teacher in question are equally skilled and experienced, the only differentiating factor being the teacher's L1. In reality, however, no two teachers are ever equally qualified, experienced or skilled. Consequently, it is possible that when expressing their preference for 'native speaker' teachers, the students might rely on some of the native speakerist discourses (see 5.3).

As the data presented in the previous chapter shows (see 4.4), knowing English well is the most important skill of an effective English teacher in the eyes of both the student and the recruiter participants. Likewise, in a study of EFL learners in Thailand, Mullock (2010) found that students highly appreciated teachers who were proficient. This might explain student respondents' preference for having classes with 'native speaker' teachers (see 4.2.1) as in the literature being a 'native speaker' is frequently associated with superior proficiency (Medgyes, 1992, 1994; Quirk, 1990). In other studies, students have also been found to praise 'native speaker' teachers for their wide range of vocabulary and oral fluency (Barratt & Kontra, 2000; Rao, 2010). In contrast, one of the main weaknesses of 'non-native speaker' teachers frequently reported by students is their low proficiency in the language (Árva & Medgyes, 2000; Lasagabaster & Sierra, 2005). With regards to recruiters, some studies show that they find 'native-like' accent an important hiring criterion (Clark & Paran, 2007; Mahboob et al., 2004). Furthermore, Moussu (2006) showed that the main weaknesses of 'non-native speaker' teachers reported by recruiters in the US were low proficiency, low range of vocabulary and a foreign accent. Consequently, it would be plausible to assume that the high importance attached to language proficiency by the student and recruiter respondents in this study would correlate positively with their preference for respectively having classes with and recruiting 'native speaker' teachers'. However, no such correlation was found in this study neither for student ($\rho=0.011$, $p=0.936$), nor for recruiter respondents ($\rho=0.363$, $p=0.274$).

In addition to proficiency, the three cohorts also placed great importance on other qualities and skills, none of which can in any way be linked to the teacher's nativeness. For example, all three groups considered the ability to motivate students as very important. This is in line with the literature presented in Chapter Two (see 2.4.5). For example, numerous scholars highlight the significance of knowing how to motivate learners in order to be considered an effective English teacher (Bell, 2005; Jones et al., 2009; Lamb & Wedell, 2013). How to do so, however, will depend on the individual student preferences since some student interviewees and informants in this study pointed out that they are motivated by strict and demanding teachers, while others prefer those who are creative (see 4.4). The individual differences among students as to what behaviour of the teacher they find motivating has also been attested in the literature. For example, Cheng and Dörnyei (2007), who studied learners in Hungary and Taiwan, conclude that the most important motivational strategy was the teacher setting a positive

example with their own behaviour or learning experience. On the other hand, Chinese and Indonesian learners seem to find kindness and empathy motivating (Lamb & Wedell, 2013), while Turkish elementary students are motivated by enjoyable lessons filled with language games (Koç, 2013).

Third, all three groups of participants agreed that the ability to convey knowledge effectively was crucial. This can be linked with having high language awareness, which the participants also considered important, since understanding how the language functions can allow teachers to anticipate problems students might have with the target language, as well as give clear and succinct explanations. In fact, teachers with low language awareness have been found to avoid teaching certain aspects of the language all together (Borg, 2001). Moreover, in Thailand, EFL students were found to place importance on the teacher's knowledge about the language (Mullock, 2010). Finally, similarly to the results presented in this thesis, the ability to give clear explanations ranked among students in an ESL context in the UK as one of the three most important skills of effective language teachers (Pacek, 2005).

Another skill of an effective English teacher that was found important in this study was having good rapport with students. Nevertheless, it is important to note that teacher respondents found it significantly more important than did the student ($p=0.025$) or recruiter respondents ($p=0.021$). It seems that the student participants, while certainly valuing the teacher's openness and likeability, do not necessarily wish them to be too friendly. For example, one student informant mentioned that the teacher:

should also be a bit friendly, but not too much, because when he or she will be too much friendly, then we not be progress in the study, but a bit friendly could help us to open and speak English.
[S11]

The teacher then needs to be able to strike a balance between being open and friendly with the students, and maintaining appropriate distance. This confirms Pacek's (2005) results, which showed that European students, in contrast to Asian ones, find personal traits and the teacher's likeability to be less important than for example teacher's knowledge or ability to teach. In fact, there might even be differences between students of different ages as evidenced by Koç's (2013) study of Turkish elementary and high school students, where the former were found to value discipline and classroom management, while the latter empathy. Similarly to the ability to motivate students, this therefore indicates that it is crucial the teacher understands their students and adapts their teaching style accordingly, since different students in different cultures, of different ages, and different levels might be motivated by diverse factors (Lamb & Wedell, 2013; Mullock, 2010).

Having discussed the various qualities and skills of effective English teachers that the three cohorts find important, the next section turns to the last RQ. Namely, it focuses on how important in the eyes of the respondents 'nativeness' or the teacher's L1 is in order to be an effective English teacher.

5.5 Importance of Nativeness or Teacher's L1

Considering the role that 'nativeness' plays for recruiter respondents when making hiring decisions (see 4.2.4), and the overwhelming agreement student respondents expressed when asked if they would prefer having classes with 'native speaker' teachers (see 4.2.1), it would be plausible to assume that the teacher's L1 or their 'nativeness' would be considered as the most important quality of an effective English teacher. However, as the data presented in the previous chapter clearly show (see 4.5), this is not the case.

First, it is important to highlight that none of the forty-nine student and thirty teacher informants who took part in the focus groups mentioned 'nativeness' or the teacher's L1 as a

quality or skill of an effective English teacher. In addition, during the qualitative interviews, there was only one student interviewee who mentioned that it was important that their teacher was a 'native speaker', which however - as can be seen in the comment below - was related to that student's learning goal:

I think that whether the teacher is a 'native speaker' is very important, for example to pick up the accent. Because if a 'native speaker' teaches me, I hear the accent as it's supposed to be, and not as it was artificially learned. So, for this reason it is important. And it can help me to understand different 'native speaker' accents. [S2]

In contrast, none of the other student, teacher or recruiter interviewees expressed a similar preference. In fact, some clearly stated that their teacher's L1 did not matter to them at all:

So, for me the most important thing is how the teacher conveys knowledge, rather than whether they're a 'native speaker' or not. [S3]

The 'native' or 'non-native' is not what makes someone a good teacher. There can be good and bad 'native speaker' teachers. [T4]

From my perspective it's not the most important difference, being a 'native' or a 'non-native speaker'. I think it's much more important how the person is prepared to their job, their qualifications. It's about language awareness, methodology, and the way they teach, rather than whether we are or are not a 'native speaker'. [R2]

These qualitative results reflect those obtained by Ali (2009), who interviewed 31 Arab students about the qualities and skills of effective English teachers. None of the respondents in that study listed 'nativeness', or the teacher's L1 as an important skill. Although it could be argued that the informants in this study did not list 'nativeness' since they took it for granted or that at the time of the study it did not occur to them to mention it; when during the quantitative phase of the study the respondents were provided with a list of twelve qualities and skills of effective teachers, the four qualities related to the teacher's L1 or 'nativeness' were considered the least important by all three cohorts.

The literature review (see 2.4.4) has only identified two studies whose aim was somewhat similar to RQ5 in this project, namely, to identify how important 'nativeness' was in comparison to other skills and qualities of an effective English teacher. Both of these studies, however, only focused on student perceptions. The first, carried out by Walkinshaw and Duong (2012) in Vietnam, used a binary scale on which student had to indicate whether a given quality of an effective teacher (e.g., experience, qualifications) was more or less important than the teacher's 'nativeness'. The results showed that only in terms of pronunciation, 'nativeness' was chosen as more important. While this thesis did not take pronunciation into account on the list of qualities and skills of effective teachers, proficiency in the language was considered far more important than being a 'native speaker'. The second study was conducted by Levis et al. (2017) with students from universities in Midwestern US and Turkey. Similarly to the results of this study, students found being a 'native speaker' the least important quality on the list of thirteen provided by the researchers.

Having said that, it is important to recognise that in the quantitative strand of this research project the student respondents found 'nativeness' to be significantly more important ($p=0.00002$) than did the teacher respondents (see 4.5). This further supports the discussion earlier in this chapter (see 5.2), where it was shown that student respondents preferred being taught by 'native speakers' significantly more than did the teachers. While the difference in the importance attached to 'nativeness' by recruiter and teacher respondents was not significant, it was considerably higher among the former group. This observation is in line with the data that showed that 'nativeness' is indeed an important factor when making recruitment decisions (see 4.2.4). These findings further corroborate those obtained by Mahboob et al. (2004) and Clark and Paran (2007), which show that the recruiters place significantly greater importance on teacher's 'nativeness' than their pedagogical qualifications and skills. Nevertheless, it is

interesting to note that the same recruiter respondents in my study emphasised during qualitative interviews that ‘nativeness’ was not an important hiring criterion. This suggests that perhaps further research on this topic is needed in order to shed light on this apparent contradiction.

All in all then, it is on the one hand positive that ‘nativeness’ is considered the least important quality of an effective teacher. On the other hand, it still weighs heavily on the attitudes student and recruiter participants have towards teachers. As a result, it is likely that ‘non-native speaker’ teachers have to be more highly qualified and better prepared for the job than their ‘native speaker’ counterparts in order to be able to compete on the job market. As one of the ‘native speaker’ teachers who participated in the interviews put it:

I think a lot of ‘native speakers’ have a very easy ride into teaching. It’s quite smooth at the beginning. You do a 4-week course, pick a country and off you go. [T5]

This suggests that native speakerism is deeply ingrained not only in the collective public mind, but also among ELT professionals, and that despite all the scholarly efforts into debunking the ‘native speaker’ fallacy, it still forms part and parcel of ELT in Poland.

5.6 Implications for Classroom Practice, Materials Writing and Teacher Training

The discussion of the research findings in this chapter could not be complete without indicating what the practical implications of these are for ELT. As a result, this section presents the practical implications of this study for ELT. Since these implications can be broadly divided into three main categories, this section is divided into three parts. First, the implications for teaching are presented. This is then followed by suggestions for materials writing. Finally, the last section focuses on the implications the results of this research have for teacher training.

5.6.1 Implications for Classroom Practice

The data presented in Chapter Four and discussed in Chapter Five show a discrepancy between student and teacher participants’ beliefs as far as ‘native’ and ‘non-native speakers’ are concerned, as well as the English language itself. It seems that on the whole the former group is more likely to prefer ‘native speaker’ teachers. This might be due to certain beliefs they hold about ‘native speakers’, the English language itself, use of L1 in the class, having a foreign accent and the qualities and skills of effective English teachers. Each of these beliefs could be addressed in the classroom by designing activities that will not only practice relevant language skills or systems, but also encourage students to look critically and the discourses that support native speakerism.

First, when teaching listening, it is important that teachers create, and use, tasks which expose the learners to a variety of ‘non-native speaker’ accents. This is necessary to adequately prepare students for the diversity of English that they will encounter outside the class. Furthermore, it can counterbalance the listening activities in published materials, which predominantly feature ‘native speakers’ (Syrbe & Rose, 2016). When designing listening tasks, more emphasis should also be placed on bottom-up listening skills (e.g., decoding the pronunciation of individual words or short phrases) so that learners are aware of how the pronunciation of different English users might differ. This might better prepare students to understand these English users in real life. However, when designing listening tasks based on recordings of ‘non-native speakers’, it is vital that they be treated as valid models of the language, rather than incorrect forms of SE (Galloway & Rose, 2015).

Consequently, it is advisable that teachers create situations in the classroom where ‘non-native speakers’ are used as models of pronunciation. This can help move the focus away from imitating ‘native speakers’ to an emphasis on intelligibility in international contexts (Walker, 2010). Indeed, tasks which emphasise the practice of LFC features should become the focal point of pronunciation teaching in order to help students become more intelligible in international settings. This would have the added benefit of raising students’ awareness of ELF, as well as of the fact that ‘native speakers’ are not the only correct models of the English language. This might be important since some students have been found to exhibit rather negative attitudes to ‘non-native speaker’ accents (Galloway & Rose, 2014). Arguably, using pronunciation activities in class which encourage the students to imitate pronunciation features of an intelligible and proficient ‘non-native speaker’ can also be seen as more realistic, relevant and achievable.

Furthermore, when preparing tasks that aim to practice speaking or writing, it is recommended that teachers use native speakerism and the various discourses supporting it as possible spoken or written input. For example, some classes could take the form of role plays in which students in pairs perform a job interview whereby one learner takes on the role of a recruiter, while the other that of a ‘non-native speaker’ teacher applying for a job. Consequently, while practising spoken and written skills, students would not only gain a greater awareness of native speakerism, but potentially also develop more positive attitudes towards ‘non-native speaker’ teachers. Finally, both when teaching listening and reading, teachers could prepare tasks which centre on texts concerning ELF or the discourses supporting native speakerism. It is recommended that the tasks include questions which promote critical reflection and debate on the topic. For example, Rose and Galloway (2017) suggest how the discourse of SE can be debated with students in class. Such an approach might encourage students to question their own assumptions about the English language, and ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers. Five such sample activities are presented in Appendix H.

While it is true that teachers can develop their own materials to address the issue of native speakerism in the classroom, a change is also needed in published materials. This is addressed in the following section.

5.6.2 Implications for Materials Writing

Firstly, it is crucial that modern course books promote the global, lingua franca nature of the English language in an attempt to move beyond the native speakerist bias that is currently visible in materials (see 2.2.4.4). For example, this could involve using recordings of English users from around the world, rather than mainly from Inner Circle countries, as has been demonstrated by Galloway and Rose (2014). In fact, since ‘non-native speakers’ vastly outnumber ‘native speakers’, it is suggested that recordings of the former be more frequent. Furthermore, as far as pronunciation is concerned, a greater emphasis could be placed on LFC when designing course book syllabi. This is essential since research clearly shows that certain pronunciation features are much more important for intelligibility in international contexts than others, and thus should be given prominence (Deterding & Mohamad, 2016; Zoghbor, 2011a). In addition, it is suggested that course book writers embrace ELF research on communicative strategies. This means less emphasis on imitating ‘native speaker’ communicative patterns, and more on practising the ability to accommodate one’s speech to the interlocutor. Finally, since course books have been shown to focus primarily on British and American culture (Rai & Deng, 2016; Tomlinson & Masuhara, 2013), it is likely that they do not adequately prepare student to interact in highly multicultural ELF contexts. Hence, an emphasis on intercultural communicative skills and a presentation of culture as fluid and changeable, rather than as static

and fixed, is recommended. Such changes might not only better prepare students to be successful users of ELF, but also to highlight the fact that the English language does no longer belong exclusively to ‘native speakers’.

These implicit attempts at raising students’ awareness of ELF and native speakerism should be connected with more explicit ones. While some attempts have been made to address issues such as language change and language variation have been made, most notably in the course book *Global*, as Galloway (2018) points out, these were insufficient as they still mostly focused on ‘native speaker’ English and made little attempt to highlight the ELF nature of the English language. Consequently, it is recommended course books include more reading and listening texts which address these issues. Such texts would provide learners with the information necessary to make informed choices about their learning, for example as far as the choice of the teacher is concerned, or the pronunciation model they would like to aim for. In addition, such texts are also likely to increase students’ understanding of the global nature of the English language, and potentially to reduce their prejudice against ‘non-native speaker’ teachers. Finally, it is also suggested that course book writers promote tasks in their materials where learners are encouraged to openly and critically discuss these topics both in writing and in speaking.

Additionally, it is necessary the aforementioned changes be followed by appropriate changes to teacher’s books which accompany the course books. They need to provide teachers with adequate information about ELF and native speakerism, so that they understand the rationale behind certain tasks in the course books. Furthermore, it is also recommended that the teacher’s books provide guidance to teachers with regards to adapting course book materials in order to promote a more ELF-oriented teaching. Finally, photocopiable activities that further focus on raising awareness of ELF and native speakerism would also be invaluable for teachers who are still at the beginning of their careers, or those who lack the time to develop their own materials.

While these changes would undoubtedly be beneficial, what is also needed is a profound change in how English teachers are prepared for the profession. This is discussed in the following section.

5.6.3 Implications for Pre-Service and In-Service Teacher Training

The results of this study have important implications for both pre- and in-service teacher training which can be broadly divided into two categories. First, in order for the teachers to embrace the classroom implications of ELF and native speakerism described previously (see 6.1.1), it is necessary to increase teachers’ understanding of these two research strands. Affecting teachers’ cognition with regards to these two issues is suggested since a wide range of studies have shown that teachers’ pedagogical choices in the classroom are influenced by their knowledge and beliefs. Consequently, during BA or MA courses in TESOL teachers should be familiarised with the relevant literature and involved in research-based discussions of ELF and native speakerism. In addition, entire modules focusing on these two issues could be added to the BA or MA in TESOL programs. During initial intensive teacher training courses, such as TrinityCert or CELTA, it might not be possible to devote as much time to these issues due to the short nature of these courses. Nevertheless, discussions of native speakerism and ELF could be incorporated as the themes of the oral, spoken, written or aural tasks when the trainees are learning how to teach these skills. Examples of such activities can be seen in Appendix I. Finally, discussions of research findings concerning ELF and native speakerism should also form an integral part of in-service professional development programs, for example as workshops, presentations or discussion sessions. To sum up, it is essential that both native

speakerism and ELF research become a permanent element of both pre- and in-service teacher training programs, so that teachers gain a better theoretical understanding of these issues, which can help move ELT further away from the native speakerist bias it currently suffers from. This might also raise the confidence of ‘non-native speaker’ teachers, and provide them with the necessary knowledge to speak out for equal professional opportunities.

However, apart from the necessary theoretical and research base that teachers need to gain in order for a shift in perspective to take place, it is also vital that ELF and native speakerism be discussed in a practical manner, so that teachers understand what the practical implications of these research strands are. For example, the current course books are still to a large extent based on SE, and have been very slow to respond to ELF research findings. Therefore, teachers should be given training not only in adapting the course books, but also in developing ELF-oriented teaching materials. Founding an activities bank and establishing a community of practice where teachers could exchange their materials, collaborate and learn from each other could be beneficial. Furthermore, teachers should also be familiarised with websites where recordings of ‘non-native speakers’ can be found, such as IDEA or ELLO, so that these can be used to either supplement the course books or design new materials. Finally, to provide learners with authentic examples of ELF communication, it is important teachers are shown how to use ELF corpora, such as VOICE or ACE. Such a focus on ELF, in addition to better preparing students to use English outside the class, can also help further raise their awareness of the diversity of the English language and possibly lead to diminishing their bias against ‘non-native speaker’ teachers.

5.7 Conclusion

The aim of this chapter has been to discuss the research findings of this MMR study. The results show that native speakerism is still present in ELT in Poland, especially as far as student and recruiter participants’ views are concerned. This is particularly evidenced by the preference for having classes with ‘native speaker’ teachers and for recruiting these teachers over ‘non-native’ ones. In addition, the data also show that ‘native speakers’ are regarded as superior language models and are viewed as the ultimate goal learners should aspire to imitate. This chapter ends with implications these findings have for teaching English, materials writing and teacher education. In the next chapter, after summarising the content of this thesis, suggestions for future research are presented.

6 Chapter Six: Conclusion and Suggestion for Future Research

This thesis is a reaction against the widespread and continued marginalisation of ‘non-native speaker’ professionals in ELT, often referred to as native speakerism. It subscribes to the view that English teachers should be valued for their ability to teach and their contributions to the profession, rather than their first language. It also follows the ELF perspective on ELT, which counters the dominance of Inner Circle ‘native speaker’ English as the only correct and valid learning and teaching model.

Extensive research has been conducted on native speakerism documenting the discrimination ‘non-native speaker’ teachers frequently face in ELT. However, despite over two decades of these scholarly efforts, in reality little has changed for ‘non-native speaker’ teachers, with approximately three-quarters of all ELT job ads in the private sector still being reserved for ‘native speakers’. Likewise, although ELF has become a vibrant and well-established research domain within applied linguistics since its modest beginnings in the early 90s, it has not yet given rise to a change in pedagogy, with SE still dominating English language teaching and learning, which further bolsters native speakerism and the marginalisation of ‘non-native speakers’. Consequently, this project aimed to take a different route by exploring ELF and teaching effectiveness as possible ways forward beyond the corrosive ideology of native speakerism.

The results of this study show that native speakerism is still very much present in the minds of students, teachers and recruiters in Poland. The image of the ‘native speaker’ seems to be associated with someone born and raised in an Inner Circle country. In addition, there exists a clear preference for classes with ‘native speaker’ teachers, which is reflected in a preference for recruiting ‘native speakers’. This preference can be connected to some of the discourses which support native speakerism. For example, a belief that ‘native speakers’ speak better English expressed by many student and recruiter participants correlates with their preference for these teachers. Nevertheless, it is also clear that being a ‘native speaker’ is not the most important characteristic of an effective teacher, neither according to student, nor recruiter or teacher participants.

As far as the organisation of this thesis is concerned, it consists of six chapters. First, the introductory chapter set the scene and provided the reader with background information on the topic. The main concepts used throughout this work were introduced and each of the following chapters summarised, providing an outline and an overview of the thesis.

In Chapter Two, the relevant literature concerning native speakerism and ELF was reviewed. This chapter started with an exploration of a question that lies at the very core of the ideology, namely, who a ‘native speaker’ is. It was suggested that the concept can be highly ideological and subjective, leading to the discrimination of those who are not perceived as ‘native speakers’. After this initial exploration, the ideology of native speakerism was discussed, together with the discourses that support and normalise it. Then, ELF scholarship was reviewed since it seems to offer a powerful alternative to the discourse of SE, which supports native speakerism. Finally, this chapter ended with an exploration of students’, teachers’ and recruiters’ attitudes to and beliefs about ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers. It was suggested that the constant comparisons between the two groups only served to further perpetuate the stereotypes about them, and that instead the discussion and research should focus on teaching effectiveness.

Chapter Three presented the methodology chosen for this study. First, the theoretical and philosophical assumptions underpinning this research project were discussed. Since this work is based on the pragmatist paradigm, which aims to reconcile the gap between constructivism and post-positivism, these two worldviews were reviewed first. Having described the

philosophical assumptions behind this research project, MMR methodology was presented and its choice for this project justified. Once the relevant literature on the research methodology was reviewed, it was possible to focus on the study proper. First, necessary background information about ELT in Poland was provided. This was followed by the research aims, sample size and sampling techniques, and research tools and procedures used to gather data in this study. The chapter ended by discussing the ethical issues and the limitations of this research project.

Once the reader was familiarised with the methodology, the focus could shift in Chapter Four to presenting the data which were gathered during this study. Both qualitative and quantitative data pertaining to each of the five RQs were presented. Whenever possible and appropriate, the quantitative data were visualised using tables and figures. Relevant extracts from interviews and focus groups conducted in the qualitative strand of this study were also used to draw comparisons between the quantitative and qualitative data.

The presentation of the data were followed in Chapter Five by a discussion of the findings. The outcomes of the research were discussed and links with relevant literature were drawn. The aim of this chapter was to connect the results of this study with those obtained by other researchers, which were reported on in the literature review. In addition to drawing parallels with the literature, the discussion in this chapter also served to show the unique contributions of this research project to the study of native speakerism. Finally, this chapter also presented practical implications of the findings for teaching, materials writing and teacher education.

This thesis, however, could not be complete without suggesting future research directions. This is the focus of the next section.

6.1 Suggestions for Future Research

The literature review conducted for this research, and the data gathered during it, suggests important considerations for future research. These can be divided into two main strands, the first of which concerns addressing the limitations of this study, while the second aiming to corroborate the results. First, there is a lack of research focusing on native speakerism in ELT in Poland. Consequently, since this study was limited to only six language schools, future research could expand the scope of this project by looking at schools located in other cities and regions, as well as exploring the issue in public schools or universities. In addition, since only five recruiters completed the questionnaire, it is difficult to make any generalisations. As a result, it is recommended that future studies aim to sample a larger number of recruiters, especially considering the acute lack of research on recruiters' beliefs about 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers also beyond the Polish context. Finally, while this study has some important practical implications, it did not allow for designing and implementing pedagogical tasks in the classroom or on teacher training programs. Hence, delivering awareness-raising activities both with students and trainee teachers to see how and if the negative perceptions of 'non-native speaker' teachers and ELF can be altered could be an important step forward.

Second, this research has not only yielded new results concerning native speakerism, but also approached the problem from a different perspective. As a result, future research could aim to expand on this study and to corroborate its results to see if they are generalisable to other contexts. For example, it is suggested that more studies should investigate how different stakeholders in ELT understand the terms 'native' and 'non-native speaker'. Comparing the theoretical definitions which have been proposed in the literature over the years with those given by teachers, students or recruiters could offer important insights, and suggest ways in which native speakerism can be tackled. It is also recommended that in addition to vignettes used in this study, audio recordings and pictures be utilised to provide further insights into how

students, teachers or recruiters define a 'native speaker'. In addition, since most of the research to date on attitudes to 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers has focused on students, little is still known about teachers' or recruiters' beliefs. Although this study has aimed to shed some light on this matter, further research is needed to obtain a more complete picture. What is more, research has also tended to focus on whether the students recognised different strengths and weaknesses of 'native' and 'non-native speaker' teachers, and whether they preferred one group over the other to teach particular classes, for example speaking or grammar. Consequently, insufficient attention has been paid to the possible reasons why students, recruiters or teachers might express a preference for 'native speakers'. While this study was aimed to fill this research gap, more studies are needed to corroborate the findings obtained here. Knowing the reasons for the prejudice against 'non-native speaker' teachers can be crucial as it can help design appropriate awareness-raising tasks that might tackle these beliefs.

Appendix A

Consent Form: Focus groups

Description of the study:

This study aims to investigate how students, teachers and recruiters perceive native (NS) and non-Native Speakers (NNS) as English teachers. It investigate how these three groups define the concept of a NS, whether or not they have any preference for NS or NNS teachers, as well as reasons for this. Finally, the study also aims to discover what qualities the three groups think are important in successful English teachers in general. To gather data it makes use of focus groups, questionnaires and follow-up interviews. In this part of the study I will take part in a focus group discussion and with other people in the group prepare a list of characteristics that I value highly in English language teachers.

What will be involved in participation?

I understand that:

- The purpose of the proposed study is to better understand which characteristics students, teachers and recruiters value highly in English language teachers.
- The study involves participating in a 20 minute focus group with approximately 10 other participants.
- The results of the focus groups will inform the design of a follow-up questionnaire which I may be invited to complete.
- My responses in the focus groups will be anonymised
- Audio recordings of the focus groups will be made.
- I may request to view and comment on the transcription of the focus group.

How will my data be handled?

I understand that:

6. My participation is voluntary, and I may withdraw myself and my data before May 2016 by informing the researcher [MAREK KICZKOWIAK, email: mk1123@york.ac.uk] without any penalty being imposed on me.
- Only the researcher will have access to the data and information collected in this study before it is anonymised.

- The data and information collected during this study will be anonymised by the researcher as soon as possible after collection.
- Only the researcher will have access to any personal data that I provide to allow the researcher to contact me to join the focus groups and that information will be destroyed once the focus group data have been collected.
- The anonymised data will be archived and may be used for other academic and research purposes by other researchers inside and outside the University.
- The anonymised data may be disseminated through seminars, conference presentations, journal articles and other scholarly publications. You can decline such use of your anonymised data by informing the researcher [MAREK KICZKOWIAK, email: mk1123@york.ac.uk] without any penalty being imposed on me.
- The data will only be used for academic and research purposes.

What should I do if I have questions or concerns?

I understand that:

- This project has been reviewed by and received ethics clearance through the ethics committee in the Department of Education at the University of York.
- If I have any questions about this research, I should in the first instance contact the researcher, Marek Kiczowskiak (mk1123@york.ac.uk).
- If I have any concerns about the conduct of this research, I may contact the Chair of the Ethics Committee, Dr Emma Marsden (emma.marsden@york.ac.uk).

Name of participant _____ Date _____ Signature _____

Name of researcher _____ Date _____ Signature _____

Appendix B

Pre-pilot questionnaire

Consent

This study is part of a PhD research project conducted at the University of York. The study has received ethical approval from the university's ethics committee. The main research aims are to investigate students', teachers' and recruiters' attitudes towards 'native' and 'non-native speaker' English teachers. All the data gathered will remain completely anonymous. The data will only be used for academic purposes. If you have further questions, please do not hesitate to contact the researcher. The contact details and further details about the aims of the study and how your data will be handled can be found in the consent form [here](#).

I have been informed about and understand the nature of this study, and willingly consent to take part in it.

- Yes - continue to the survey. (1)
- No - leave the survey. (2)

If No - leave the survey Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Survey

Q1 Before you proceed to the survey, please choose the option below which best describes you.

- I am a student of English. (1)
- I am a teacher of English. (2)
- I am a recruiter. (3)

Part 1

Introduction Part 1

Please read the vignettes below and decide whether you think they describe a native English speaker, or not. Remember there is no right or wrong answer, so in your answers please be as honest as possible. Your opinion is very important.

Q1.1 I was born and have lived all my life in India. I did all my education, including university, in English. At home we never use English, but outside home I use English every day. I am completely proficient in English. Am I a native speaker of English?

- Definitely yes (11)
- Probably yes (12)
- Undecided (13)
- Probably not (14)
- Definitely not (15)

Q1.2 I was born in an English-speaking country to English-speaking parents, but I have lived all my life in a non-English speaking country. I did all my education, including

university, in a language other than English. At home we use English every day, but outside home only sometimes. I am completely proficient in English. Am I a native English speaker?

- Definitely Yes (1)
- Probably yes (2)
- Undecided (3)
- Probably not (4)
- Definitely not (5)

Q1.3 I was born and have lived all my life in an English-speaking country, but my parents come from a non-English speaking country. I did my education, including university in English. At home we never use English, but outside home I use English every day. I am completely proficient in English. Am I a native English speaker?

- Definitely Yes (1)
- Probably yes (2)
- Undecided (3)
- Probably not (4)
- Definitely not (5)

Q1.4 I was born in a non-English speaking country to non-English speaking parents. When I was an adult I moved to an English-speaking country and did my MA in English there. I now live and work in an English-speaking country. I use English almost all the time both at home and outside. I actually use my mother tongue less often than English. I am completely proficient in English. Am I a native English speaker?

- Definitely Yes (1)
- Probably yes (2)
- Undecided (3)
- Probably not (4)
- Definitely not (5)

Q1.5 I was born in an English-speaking country, but I have lived almost all my life and done my education, including university, in a non-English speaking country. Only one of my parents speaks English as their first language, but the other does not. At home we use English roughly half of the time and outside home I use it only sometimes. I am completely proficient in English. Am I a native English speaker?

- Definitely Yes (1)
- Probably yes (2)
- Undecided (3)
- Probably not (4)
- Definitely not (5)

Q1.6 I was born in and have lived all my life in an English-speaking country. I did my education, including university in English. Only one of my parents speaks English as their first language, but the other does not. At home we use English roughly half of the time, but outside home I use English every day. I am completely proficient in English. Am I a native English speaker?

- Definitely yes (11)

- Probably yes (12)
- Undecided (13)
- Probably not (14)
- Definitely not (15)

Part 2

Introduction Part 2

For the purposes of this part of the questionnaire we will use the following definitions and acronyms:

a) A Native English Speaker (NES) is somebody born in an English-speaking country who acquired English as their first language as a child and grew up speaking it

b) A Non-Native English Speaker (NNES) is somebody born in a non-English-speaking country who has learnt English either as a second or as a foreign language.

For the questions in Part 2 choose the answer which best reflects your opinion, by deciding how far you agree with the statements. Remember there is no wrong or right answer so please be as honest as possible. Your opinion is very important.

Q2.1 Choose the answer which best reflects your opinion, by deciding how far you agree with the statements [STUDENT VERSION].

	Strongly agree (1)	Agree (2)	Somewhat agree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat disagree (5)	Disagree (6)	Strongly disagree (7)
I prefer to have classes with a NES teacher. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My teacher's mother tongue is important. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I prefer to have classes both with NES and NNES teachers. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I prefer to have classes with a NNES. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q2.2 Choose the answer which best reflects your opinion, by deciding how far you agree with the statements [STUDENT VERSION].

	Strongly agree (1)	Agree (2)	Somewhat agree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat disagree (5)	Disagree (6)	Strongly disagree (7)
When I choose a language school, I check if they employ NES teachers. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I would complain to the school director if I had classes with a NNES teacher. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is important to me that the school where I study English has both NES and NNES teachers. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

<p>I prefer to study in a school that only employs NES teachers. (4)</p>	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
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Q2.1 Choose the answer which best reflects your opinion, by deciding how far you agree with the statements [TEACHER AND RECRUITER VERSION].

	Strongly agree (1)	Agree (2)	Somewhat agree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat disagree (5)	Disagree (6)	Strongly disagree (7)
When studying a foreign language, I prefer to have classes with a native speaker of that language. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My foreign language teacher's mother tongue is important for me. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When studying a foreign language, I prefer to have classes both with native and non-native speakers of that language. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

When studying a foreign language, I prefer to have classes with non-native speakers of that language. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
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Q2.2 Choose the answer which best reflects your opinion, by deciding how far you agree with the statements [TEACHER VERSION].

	Strongly agree (1)	Agree (2)	Somewhat agree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat disagree (5)	Disagree (6)	Strongly disagree (7)
It is important that the school I teach in employs both NES and NNES teachers. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I prefer to work at a school which only employs NES teachers. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I prefer to work at a school which only employs NNES teachers. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is important that the school I teach in gives equal professional opportunities to both NES and NNES teachers. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q2.2 Choose the answer which best reflects your opinion, by deciding how far you agree with the statements [RECRUITER VERSION].

	Strongly agree (1)	Agree (2)	Somewhat agree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat disagree (5)	Disagree (6)	Strongly disagree (7)
I prefer to hire NES teachers. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is important that both NES and NNES teachers work in my school. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mother tongue of the teacher is an important criterion when making hiring decisions. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My school would be more successful if it only had NES teachers. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q2.3 Choose the answer which best reflects your opinion, by deciding how far you agree with the statements.

	Strongly agree (1)	Agree (2)	Somewhat agree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat disagree (5)	Disagree (6)	Strongly disagree (7)
You will learn good English both from a NES and a NNES teacher. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
You will learn bad English from a NNES teacher. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
A NNES teacher is a better language model than a NES. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is necessary to interact with a NES to speak English fluently. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q2.4 Choose the answer which best reflects your opinion, by deciding how far you agree with the statements.

	Strongly agree (1)	Agree (2)	Somewhat agree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat disagree (5)	Disagree (6)	Strongly disagree (7)
In an English class, it is best to use only English. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is helpful when my teacher uses my mother tongue in class. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I prefer to have classes with a teacher that knows my mother tongue. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
In an English class, it is best when the teacher speaks English at all times. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q2.5 Choose the answer which best reflects your opinion, by deciding how far you agree with the statements.

	Strongly agree (1)	Agree (2)	Somewhat agree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat disagree (5)	Disagree (6)	Strongly disagree (7)
NES know more about the language than NNES. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
NNES can use English just as good as NES. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Both NES and NNES make mistakes in English. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
NES speak better English than NNES. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q2.6 Choose the answer which best reflects your opinion, by deciding how far you agree with the statements.




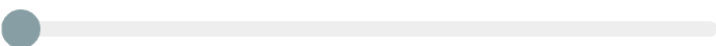
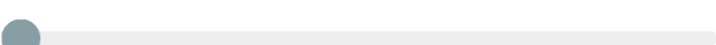
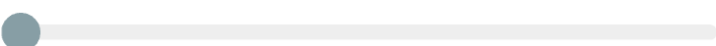
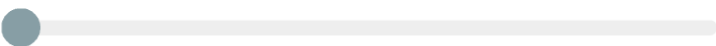
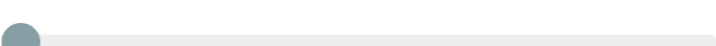



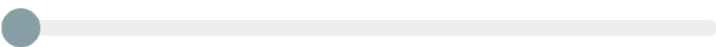
	Strongly agree (1)	Agree (2)	Somewhat agree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat disagree (5)	Disagree (6)	Strongly disagree (7)
The English learnt and taught in class should be International English. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Some varieties of English are better than others. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Only English used by NES is correct English. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Indian English is an example of incorrect English. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q2.7 Choose the answer which best reflects your opinion, by deciding how far you agree with the statements.

	Strongly agree (1)	Agree (2)	Somewhat agree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat disagree (5)	Disagree (6)	Strongly disagree (7)
It is acceptable to speak English with a foreign accent. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I would like to use English like a NES. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Being intelligible is more important than using English like a NES. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Students should imitate how NES use English. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Part 3

In this part of the questionnaire you will answer questions about what makes an effective English teacher. Look at the list below and decide how important these attributes are to be an effective English teacher. You can do so by moving the slider into the appropriate position. If you have no opinion on the topic, please tick 'No opinion' box. Remember there is no wrong or right answer so please be as honest as possible. Your opinion is very important.

	Not important at all	Not very important	Moderately important	Important	Very important	No opinion						
	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	
Ability to motivate students												<input type="checkbox"/>
Knowledge of English												<input type="checkbox"/>
Knowledge of methodology												<input type="checkbox"/>
Being Non-Native English Speaker												<input type="checkbox"/>
Being a Native English Speaker												<input type="checkbox"/>
Creativity												<input type="checkbox"/>
Good rapport with students												<input type="checkbox"/>
Ability to convey knowledge effectively												<input type="checkbox"/>
Language awareness, i.e. knowledge of how the language functions												<input type="checkbox"/>
Flexibility (i.e. adjusting to needs/level of students)												<input type="checkbox"/>
Other (please write below):												<input type="checkbox"/>
Mother tongue												<input type="checkbox"/>

Part 4

Introduction Part 4

In this part you will answer some questions about yourself and your experience teaching or studying English. All the information provided here will remain anonymous.

Q4.1 Gender

- Male (1)
- Female (2)

Q4.2 Age

- Under 18 (1)
- 18 - 24 (2)
- 25 - 34 (3)
- 35 - 44 (4)
- 45 - 54 (5)
- 55 - 64 (6)
- 65 - 74 (7)
- 75 - 84 (8)
- 85 or older (9)

Q4.3 Which term describes you best:

- Native Speaker of Polish (1)
- Native Speaker of English (2)
- Native Speaker of another language (state which) (3) _____
- Bilingual (state which languages) (4) _____
- Multilingual (state which languages) (5) _____
- Other (describe) (6) _____

Q4.4 What is your education level?

- Less than high school (1)
- High school graduate (2)
- BA degree (3)
- MA/Msc degree (4)
- Professional degree (5)
- Doctorate (6)

[Questions 4.5 to 4.13 below are ONLY shown to students]

Q4.5 How long have you been studying English?

- Less than a year (1)
- 1-3 years (2)
- 4-6 years (3)
- more than 6 years (4)

Q4.6 What is your current level of English? The levels listed below follow the Common European Framework. You can read more about them here.

- Beginner (A1) (1)
- Elementary (A2) (2)
- Pre-Intermediate (A2) (3)
- Intermediate (B1) (4)
- Upper-Intermediate (B2) (5)
- Advanced (C1) (6)
- Proficiency/Mastery (C2) (7)

Q4.7 Have you had classes with a native English speaker before?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To 4.10

Q4.8 How would you describe your experience so far with native English speaker teachers?

- Very pleased (1)
- Pleased (2)
- Neither pleased nor displeased (3)
- Displeased (4)
- Very displeased (5)

Q4.9 Below, please briefly explain your answer to the previous question.

Q4.10 Have you had classes with a non-native English speaker before?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To 4.13

Q4.11 How would you describe your experience so far with non-native English speaker teachers?

- Very pleased (1)
- Pleased (2)
- Neither pleased nor displeased (3)
- Displeased (4)
- Very displeased (5)

Q4.12 Below, please briefly explain your answer to the previous question.

Q4.13 What is your primary motivation for studying English?

- To improve my job prospects (1)
- To emigrate to an English-speaking country (2)
- To do my degree in English (3)
- To be able to communicate better when travelling (4)
- To talk to and to understand native speakers (5)
- To communicate with my business partners (6)
- Other: (7) _____

[Questions 4.5 to 4.15 below are ONLY shown to teachers]

Q4.5 How long have you been teaching English?

- Less than a year (1)
- 1-3 years (2)
- 4-6 years (3)
- more than 6 years (4)

Q4.6 Which is the highest teaching qualification you hold?

- CELTA/CertTESOL (1)
- BA in TESOL or related field (2)
- DELTA/DipTESOL (3)
- MA in TESOL or related field (4)
- PhD in TESOL or related field (5)

Q4.7 Have you ever studied a foreign language?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To Additional comments

Q4.8 How many foreign languages would you say you speak?

- 0 (1)
- 1 (2)
- 2 (3)
- 3 (4)
- 4 (5)
- More than 4 (6)

Q4.9 How proficient are you in your best foreign language? The levels listed below follow the Common European Framework. You can read more about them here.

- Beginner (A1) (1)
- Elementary (A2) (2)
- Pre-intermediate (A2) (3)
- Intermediate (B1) (4)
- Upper-intermediate (B2) (5)
- Advanced (C1) (6)
- Proficient (C2) (7)

Q4.10 When studying a foreign language, have you ever studied with a native speaker of that language?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To 4.13

Q4.11 How would you describe your experience studying a foreign language with a native speaker of that language?

- Very pleased (1)
- Pleased (2)
- Neither pleased nor displeased (3)
- Displeased (4)
- Very displeased (5)

Q4.12 Below, please briefly explain your answer to the previous question.

Q4.13 When studying a foreign language, did you study with a non-native speaker of that language?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Block

Q4.14 How would you describe your experience studying a foreign language with a non-native speaker of that language?

- Very pleased (1)
- Pleased (2)
- Neither pleased nor displeased (3)

- Displeased (4)
- Very displeased (5)

Q4.15 Below, please briefly explain your answer to the previous question.

[Questions 4.5 to 4.13 below are ONLY shown to recruiters]

Q4.5 How long have you been a recruiter?

- Less than a year (5)
- 1-3 years (12)
- 4-6 years (6)
- more than 6 years (7)

Q4.6 How many foreign languages would you say you speak?

- 0 (1)
- 1 (2)
- 2 (3)
- 3 (4)
- 4 (5)
- More than 4 (6)

Only show this question if 0 is NOT selected in Q4.6

Q4.7 How proficient are you in your best foreign language? The levels listed below follow the Common European Framework. You can read more about them here.

- Beginner (A1) (1)
- Elementary (A2) (2)
- Pre-intermediate (A2) (3)
- Intermediate (B1) (4)
- Upper-intermediate (B2) (5)
- Advanced (C1) (6)
- Proficient (C2) (7)

Q4.8 Do you or have you ever hired Native English Speaker teachers?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To Q4.11

Q4.9 How would you describe your experience with the Native English Speaker teachers you have hired?

- Very pleased (1)
- Pleased (2)
- Neither pleased nor displeased (3)
- Displeased (4)
- Very displeased (5)

Q4.10 Below please briefly explain your answer to the previous question.

Q4.11 Do you or have you ever hired Non-Native English Speaker teachers?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To Additional comments

Q4.12 How would you describe your experience with the Non-Native English Speaker teachers you have hired?

- Very pleased (1)
- Pleased (2)
- Neither pleased nor displeased (3)
- Displeased (4)
- Very displeased (5)

Q4.13 Below please briefly explain your answer to the previous question.

Additional comments

Q4.14 In here please write any comments you have about any of the topics, questions or answers in this survey:

Q4.15 As a follow-up to this questionnaire you can choose to take part in a 1-1 interview where you will get a chance to discuss in more detail some of the topics from this questionnaire with the researcher. The interview will be arranged at a time and place convenient to you, and will take approximately 20 minutes. Your participation in this interview is

completely voluntary, and all the collected data will be anonymous. Would you like to take part in a follow-up interview?

- Yes (1)
- Maybe (2)
- No (3)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Survey

Q4.16 Please leave your contact details below.

7. First name: (1)
8. Last name: (2)
9. Email address: (3)
10. Telephone number (optional): (4)

Appendix C

Post-pilot questionnaire

Consent

This study is part of a PhD research project conducted at the University of York. The study has received ethical approval from the university's ethics committee. The main research aims are to investigate students', teachers' and recruiters' attitudes towards 'native' and 'non-native speaker' English teachers. All the data gathered will remain completely anonymous. The data will only be used for academic purposes. If you have further questions, please do not hesitate to contact the researcher. The contact details and further details about the aims of the study and how your data will be handled can be found in the consent form [here](#).

I have been informed about and understand the nature of this study, and willingly consent to take part in it.

- Yes - continue to the survey. (1)
- No - leave the survey. (2)

If No - leave the survey Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Survey

Q1 Before you proceed to the survey, please choose the option below which best describes you.

- I am a student of English. (1)
- I am a teacher of English. (2)
- I am a recruiter. (3)

Part 1

Introduction Part 1

Please read the vignettes below and decide whether you think they describe a native English speaker, or not. Remember there is no right or wrong answer, so in your answers please be as honest as possible. Your opinion is very important.

Q1.1 I was born and have lived all my life in India. I did all my education, including university, in English. At home we never use English, but outside home I use English every day. I am completely proficient in English. Am I a native speaker of English?

- Definitely yes (11)
- Probably yes (12)
- Undecided (13)
- Probably not (14)
- Definitely not (15)

Q1.2 I was born in an English-speaking country to English-speaking parents, but I have lived all my life in a non-English speaking country. I did all my education, including

university, in a language other than English. At home we use English every day, but outside home only sometimes. I am completely proficient in English. Am I a native English speaker?

- Definitely Yes (1)
- Probably yes (2)
- Undecided (3)
- Probably not (4)
- Definitely not (5)

Q1.3 I was born and have lived all my life in an English-speaking country, but my parents come from a non-English speaking country. I did my education, including university in English. At home we never use English, but outside home I use English every day. I am completely proficient in English. Am I a native English speaker?

- Definitely Yes (1)
- Probably yes (2)
- Undecided (3)
- Probably not (4)
- Definitely not (5)

Q1.4 I was born in a non-English speaking country to non-English speaking parents. When I was an adult I moved to an English-speaking country and did my MA in English there. I now live and work in an English-speaking country. I use English almost all the time both at home and outside. I actually use my mother tongue less often than English. I am completely proficient in English. Am I a native English speaker?

- Definitely Yes (1)
- Probably yes (2)
- Undecided (3)
- Probably not (4)
- Definitely not (5)

Q1.5 I was born in and have lived almost all my life in a non-English-speaking country. I did my education, including university, in a language other than English. One of my parents speaks English as their first language, but the other does not. At home we use English roughly half of the time and outside home I use it only sometimes. I am completely proficient in English. Am I a native English speaker?

- Definitely Yes (1)
- Probably yes (2)
- Undecided (3)
- Probably not (4)
- Definitely not (5)

Part 2

Introduction Part 2

For the purposes of this part of the questionnaire we will use the following definitions and acronyms:

a) A Native English Speaker (NES) is somebody born in an English-speaking country who acquired English as their first language as a child and grew up speaking it

b) A Non-Native English Speaker (NNES) is somebody born in a non-English-speaking country who has learnt English either as a second or as a foreign language.

For the questions in Part 2 choose the answer which best reflects your opinion, by deciding how far you agree with the statements. Remember there is no wrong or right answer so please be as honest as possible. Your opinion is very important.

Q2.1 Choose the answer which best reflects your opinion, by deciding how far you agree with the statements [STUDENT VERSION].

	Strongly agree (1)	Agree (2)	Somewhat agree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat disagree (5)	Disagree (6)	Strongly disagree (7)
I prefer to have classes with a NES teacher. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My teacher's mother tongue is important. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I prefer to have classes both with NES and NNES teachers. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I prefer to have classes with a NNES. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q2.2 Choose the answer which best reflects your opinion, by deciding how far you agree with the statements [STUDENT VERSION].

	Strongly agree (1)	Agree (2)	Somewhat agree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat disagree (5)	Disagree (6)	Strongly disagree (7)
When I choose a language school, I check if they employ NES teachers. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I would complain to the school director if I had classes with a NNES teacher. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is important to me that the school where I study English has both NES and NNES teachers. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I prefer to study in a school that only employs NES teachers. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
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Q2.1 Choose the answer which best reflects your opinion, by deciding how far you agree with the statements [TEACHER AND RECRUITER VERSION].

	Strongly agree (1)	Agree (2)	Somewhat agree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat disagree (5)	Disagree (6)	Strongly disagree (7)
When studying a foreign language, I prefer to have classes with a native speaker of that language. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My foreign language teacher's mother tongue is important for me. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
When studying a foreign language, I prefer to have classes both with native and non-native speakers of that language. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

When studying a foreign language, I prefer to have classes with non-native speakers of that language. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
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Q2.2 Choose the answer which best reflects your opinion, by deciding how far you agree with the statements [TEACHER VERSION].

	Strongly agree (1)	Agree (2)	Somewhat agree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat disagree (5)	Disagree (6)	Strongly disagree (7)
It is important that the school I teach in employs both NES and NNES teachers. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I prefer to work at a school which only employs NES teachers. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I prefer to work at a school which only employs NNES teachers. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is important that the school I teach in gives equal professional opportunities to both NES and NNES teachers. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q2.2 Choose the answer which best reflects your opinion, by deciding how far you agree with the statements [RECRUITER VERSION].

	Strongly agree (1)	Agree (2)	Somewhat agree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat disagree (5)	Disagree (6)	Strongly disagree (7)
I prefer to hire NES teachers. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is important that both NES and NNES teachers work in my school. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mother tongue of the teacher is an important criterion when making hiring decisions. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
My school would be more successful if it only had NES teachers. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q2.3 Choose the answer which best reflects your opinion, by deciding how far you agree with the statements.

	Strongly agree (1)	Agree (2)	Some what agree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Some what disagree (5)	Disagree (6)	Strongly disagree (7)
<p>You will learn good English both from a NES and a NNE S teacher. (1)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>You will learn bad English from a NNE S teacher. (2)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<p>A NES teacher will teach you better English than a NNE S teacher. (3)</p>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Y ou will learn good Englis h from a NNE S teache r. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
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Q2.4 Choose the answer which best reflects your opinion, by deciding how far you agree with the statements.

	Strongly agree (1)	Agree (2)	Some what agree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Some what disagree (5)	Disagree (6)	Strongly disagree (7)
In an English class, it is best to use only English. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is helpful when my teacher uses my mother tongue in class. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
It is unhelpful when my teacher uses my first language in class. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

In an English class, it is best when the teacher speaks English at all times. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
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Q2.5 Choose the answer which best reflects your opinion, by deciding how far you agree with the statements.

	Strongly agree (1)	Agree (2)	Somewhat agree (3)	Neither agree nor disagree (4)	Somewhat disagree (5)	Disagree (6)	Strongly disagree (7)
The English learnt and taught in class should be International English. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Some varieties of English are better than others. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Only English used by NES is correct English. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Indian English is an example of incorrect English. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Q2.6 Choose the answer which best reflects your opinion, by deciding how far you agree with the statements.

	Stro ngly agree (1)	Ag ree (2)	Some what agree (3)	Neit her agree nor disagree (4)	Some what disagree (5)	Disa gree (6)	Stro ngly disagree (7)
It is acceptable to speak English with a foreign accent. (1)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Speaking English like a NES should be the goal of all students. (2)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Students should try to reduce their L1 accent. (3)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Students should aim to speak English like a NES. (4)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Part 3

In this part of the questionnaire you will answer questions about what makes an effective English teacher. Look at the list below and decide how important these attributes are to be an effective English teacher. You can do so by moving the slider into the appropriate position. If you keep the slider at '0', your answer will count as 'Not important at all'. Remember there is no wrong or right answer so please be as honest as possible. Your opinion is very important.

An effective English teacher...

	Not important at all	Not important	Moderately important	Important	Very important							
	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100	
... has good rapport with students	<input type="radio"/>											
is creative	<input type="radio"/>											
...is a Native English Speaker	<input type="radio"/>											
...can motivate students	<input type="radio"/>											
...has high language awareness, i.e. knowledge of how the language functions	<input type="radio"/>											
...can convey knowledge effectively	<input type="radio"/>											
...is flexible (i.e. adjusting to needs/level of students)	<input type="radio"/>											
...knows teaching methodology	<input type="radio"/>											
...is a Non-Native English Speaker	<input type="radio"/>											
...knows English well	<input type="radio"/>											
Other (please write below):	<input type="radio"/>											
<input type="text"/>												
...speaks English as their mother tongue	<input type="radio"/>											
...speaks English as a foreign language	<input type="radio"/>											

Part 4

Introduction Part 4

In this part you will answer some questions about yourself and your experience teaching or studying English. All the information provided here will remain anonymous.

Q4.1 Gender

- Male (1)
- Female (2)

Q4.2 Age

- Under 18 (1)
- 18 - 24 (2)
- 25 - 34 (3)
- 35 - 44 (4)
- 45 - 54 (5)
- 55 - 64 (6)
- 65 - 74 (7)
- 75 - 84 (8)
- 85 or older (9)

Q4.3 Which term describes you best:

- Native Speaker of Polish (1)
- Native Speaker of English (2)
- Native Speaker of another language (state which) (3) _____
- Bilingual (state which languages) (4) _____
- Multilingual (state which languages) (5) _____
- Other (describe) (6) _____

Q4.4 What is your education level?

- Less than high school (1)
- High school graduate (2)
- BA degree (3)
- MA/Msc degree (4)
- Professional degree (5)
- Doctorate (6)

[Questions 4.5 to 4.13 below are ONLY shown to students]

Q4.5 How long have you been studying English?

- Less than a year (1)
- 1-3 years (2)
- 4-6 years (3)
- more than 6 years (4)

Q4.6 What is your current level of English? The levels listed below follow the Common European Framework. You can read more about them here.

- Beginner (A1) (1)
- Elementary (A2) (2)
- Pre-Intermediate (A2) (3)
- Intermediate (B1) (4)
- Upper-Intermediate (B2) (5)
- Advanced (C1) (6)
- Proficiency/Mastery (C2) (7)

Q4.7 Have you had classes with a native English speaker before?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To 4.10

Q4.8 How would you describe your experience so far with native English speaker teachers?

- Very pleased (1)
- Pleased (2)
- Neither pleased nor displeased (3)
- Displeased (4)
- Very displeased (5)

Q4.9 Below, please briefly explain your answer to the previous question.

Q4.10 Have you had classes with a non-native English speaker before?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To 4.13

Q4.11 How would you describe your experience so far with non-native English speaker teachers?

- Very pleased (1)
- Pleased (2)
- Neither pleased nor displeased (3)
- Displeased (4)
- Very displeased (5)

Q4.12 Below, please briefly explain your answer to the previous question.

Q4.13 What is your primary motivation for studying English?

- To improve my job prospects (1)
- To emigrate to an English-speaking country (2)
- To do my degree in English (3)
- To be able to communicate better when travelling (4)
- To talk to and to understand native speakers (5)
- To communicate with my business partners (6)
- Other: (7) _____

[Questions 4.5 to 4.15 below are ONLY shown to teachers]

Q4.5 How long have you been teaching English?

- Less than a year (1)
- 1-3 years (2)
- 4-6 years (3)
- more than 6 years (4)

Q4.6 Which is the highest teaching qualification you hold?

- CELTA/CertTESOL (1)
- BA in TESOL or related field (2)
- DELTA/DipTESOL (3)
- MA in TESOL or related field (4)
- PhD in TESOL or related field (5)

Q4.7 Have you ever studied a foreign language?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To Additional comments

Q4.8 How many foreign languages would you say you speak?

- 0 (1)
- 1 (2)
- 2 (3)
- 3 (4)
- 4 (5)
- More than 4 (6)

Q4.9 How proficient are you in your best foreign language? The levels listed below follow the Common European Framework. You can read more about them here.

- Beginner (A1) (1)
- Elementary (A2) (2)
- Pre-intermediate (A2) (3)
- Intermediate (B1) (4)
- Upper-intermediate (B2) (5)
- Advanced (C1) (6)
- Proficient (C2) (7)

Q4.10 When studying a foreign language, have you ever studied with a native speaker of that language?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To 4.13

Q4.11 How would you describe your experience studying a foreign language with a native speaker of that language?

- Very pleased (1)
- Pleased (2)
- Neither pleased nor displeased (3)
- Displeased (4)
- Very displeased (5)

Q4.12 Below, please briefly explain your answer to the previous question.

Q4.13 When studying a foreign language, did you study with a non-native speaker of that language?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Block

Q4.14 How would you describe your experience studying a foreign language with a non-native speaker of that language?

- Very pleased (1)
- Pleased (2)
- Neither pleased nor displeased (3)

- Displeased (4)
- Very displeased (5)

Q4.15 Below, please briefly explain your answer to the previous question.

[Questions 4.5 to 4.13 below are ONLY shown to recruiters]

Q4.5 How long have you been a recruiter?

- Less than a year (5)
- 1-3 years (12)
- 4-6 years (6)
- more than 6 years (7)

Q4.6 How many foreign languages would you say you speak?

- 0 (1)
- 1 (2)
- 2 (3)
- 3 (4)
- 4 (5)
- More than 4 (6)

Only show this question if 0 is NOT selected in Q4.6

Q4.7 How proficient are you in your best foreign language? The levels listed below follow the Common European Framework. You can read more about them here.

- Beginner (A1) (1)
- Elementary (A2) (2)
- Pre-intermediate (A2) (3)
- Intermediate (B1) (4)
- Upper-intermediate (B2) (5)
- Advanced (C1) (6)
- Proficient (C2) (7)

Q4.8 Do you or have you ever hired Native English Speaker teachers?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To Q4.11

Q4.9 How would you describe your experience with the Native English Speaker teachers you have hired?

- Very pleased (1)
- Pleased (2)
- Neither pleased nor displeased (3)
- Displeased (4)
- Very displeased (5)

Q4.10 Below please briefly explain your answer to the previous question.

Q4.11 Do you or have you ever hired Non-Native English Speaker teachers?

- Yes (1)
- No (2)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To Additional comments

Q4.12 How would you describe your experience with the Non-Native English Speaker teachers you have hired?

- Very pleased (1)
- Pleased (2)
- Neither pleased nor displeased (3)
- Displeased (4)
- Very displeased (5)

Q4.13 Below please briefly explain your answer to the previous question.

Additional comments

Q4.14 In here please write any comments you have about any of the topics, questions or answers in this survey:

Q4.15 As a follow-up to this questionnaire you can choose to take part in a 1-1 interview where you will get a chance to discuss in more detail some of the topics from this questionnaire with the researcher. The interview will be arranged at a time and place convenient to you, and will take approximately 20 minutes. Your participation in this interview is

completely voluntary, and all the collected data will be anonymous. Would you like to take part in a follow-up interview?

- Yes (1)
- Maybe (2)
- No (3)

If No Is Selected, Then Skip To End of Survey

Q4.16 Please leave your contact details below.

11. First name: (1)
12. Last name: (2)
13. Email address: (3)
14. Telephone number (optional): (4)

Appendix D

Consent Form: follow-up interviews

Description of the study:

This study aims to investigate how students, teachers and recruiters perceive native (NS) and non-Native Speakers (NNS) as English teachers. It investigates how these three groups define the concept of a NS, whether or not they have any preference for NS or NNS teachers, as well as reasons for this. Finally, the study also aims to discover what qualities the three groups think are important in successful English teachers in general. To gather data it makes use of focus groups, questionnaires and follow-up interviews. In this part of the study I will be asked questions related to my answers in the questionnaire. These are designed to better understand the answers I originally gave in the questionnaire and the reasons for them.

What will be involved in participation?

I understand that:

- The purpose of the proposed study is to better understand students', teachers' and recruiters' attitudes towards and beliefs about Native and Non-Native English Speaking Teachers.
- The study involves participating in a face-to-face twenty-minute interview with the researcher.
- Audio recordings of the interview will be made.
- I may request to view and comment on the transcription of the interview.
- My responses in the interview will be anonymised.

How will my data be handled?

I understand that:

15. My participation is voluntary, and I may withdraw myself and my data before June 2016 by informing the researcher [MAREK KICZKOWIAK, email: mk1123@york.ac.uk] without any penalty being imposed on me.
- Only the researcher will have access to the data and information collected in this study before it is anonymized.
 - The data and information collected during this study will be anonymized by the researcher as soon as possible after collection.
 - The anonymized data will be archived and may be used for other academic and research purposes by other researchers inside and outside the University.
 - The anonymized data may be disseminated through seminars, conference presentations, journal articles and other scholarly publications. You can decline such use of your anonymised data by

informing the researcher [MAREK KICZKOWIAK, email: mk1123@york.ac.uk] without any penalty being imposed on me.

- The data will only be used for academic and research purposes.

What should I do if I have questions or concerns?

I understand that:

- This project has been reviewed by and received ethics clearance through the ethics committee in the Department of Education at the University of York.
- If I have any questions about this research, I should in the first instance contact the researcher, Marek Kiczowski: mk1123@york.ac.uk
- If I have any concerns about the conduct of this research, I may contact the Education Ethics Committee: education-research-administrator@york.ac.uk.

Name of participant _____ Date _____ Signature _____

Name of researcher __Marek Kiczowski__ Date __23.01.17__ Signature__Kiczowski__

Appendix E

Who is a native speaker?

- Easy/difficult to define? Why?
- Valid terms?

NS and NNS:

- Preference? Why?
- Differences in teaching?
- Importance in classroom?

ELF:

- NS better lg models?
- NS=goal for students?
- English only classroom?
- English as a global lingua franca?
- Foreign accent=bad?

Skills of good teachers:

- Anything you'd add?
- T's L1 important?

Some background info:

- Place of work/study
- Experience (teaching/learning)
- Qualifications (only for teachers)
- Lgs spoken

Appendix F

Changes to focus groups and questionnaires following pilot study results

The initial aim was for each focus group to be comprised of between 6 and 10 individuals (Dörnyei, 2007). Nevertheless, this number had to be adjusted downwards after the pilot study. It became apparent that organising a group of this size at every occasion might prove problematic, since the researcher had to rely on the good will of the participants and school directors. After conversing with the latter, it became clear that many students might refuse to stay after classes or to arrive twenty minutes before class, while arranging for 6-10 teachers to meet at one time for the purposes of the study could also pose problems due to their different timetables. Hence, there was no guarantee that the required group size would be met in all schools, and the researcher was faced with a choice of either conducting the focus group regardless of the turnout, or risking not being able to carry out many of the planned focus groups. It was decided then that the focus group would be conducted provided there were at least three participants.

In addition, prior to the pilot study, the researcher aimed not to interfere in the discussion to avoid influencing the results. However, during the pilot study it turned out that some participants found it difficult to generate ideas, and at one point the discussion stopped all together. As a result, the researcher decided to prompt the participants by suggesting a number of different traits of effective English teachers based on the literature review (see 2.4.5), stressing that by no means did the participants have to decide on these, that they were merely some suggestions. Without doubt, this more emic perspective, whereby the researcher positions themselves within the study, can influence participants' thoughts, and thus result in skewed findings. Nevertheless, Dufva (2003) highlights that beliefs are always co-constructed, and that participants' responses are inevitably influenced by the researcher, the questions posed and the selected research tools (see 3.1.1). Consequently, the researcher decided that should such a situation occur again during the study, an emic perspective would be adopted again, and prompts and suggestions will be used if it becomes evident that the discussion has stopped short.

Furthermore, for the most part of the pilot focus group, the participants focused only on character traits of the ideal English teacher, overlooking other aspects, such as knowledge and skills, for example. When this was pointed out to them, it turned out that there had been a misunderstanding and they had thought only character traits should be discussed. Consequently, for the following focus group it was decided that the instructions be adjusted to remind the participants that the task does not only pertain to character traits, but can also include knowledge and teaching skills. Finally, the loudness of the recording was quite low. As a result, the recording device will need to be placed closer to the participants, who should be sat in a tighter horseshoe. Reminding them to speak louder can also result in higher quality of the recording.

As far as the pilot questionnaire is concerned, the first result was a low completion rate. It is impossible to know what exactly caused a 60 per cent completion rate, but it is possible that the length of the questionnaire might have been a factor. Nevertheless, the time it took to complete the questionnaire varied significantly from just over 6 minutes to 36 minutes, with the average time of 16 minutes. Thus, it seems that the real time was on average not longer than what had been indicated to the participants (approximately 20 minutes). Nevertheless, to reduce the number of questions, and because of their low internal consistency, items 2.5.1 - 2.5.4 were deleted from the questionnaire. These items also were testing a concept very similar to 2.3.1 - 2.3.4, and as a result were thought to be redundant. Furthermore, Q1.6 was also deleted. All in all, the low rate of questionnaire completion might also have to do with the fact the software

would not allow participants to complete the survey once one week had passed since their initial attempt. Consequently, this time might need to be extended to two weeks.

With regards to Part 1 of the questionnaire, it was decided that vignette in Q1.6 should be deleted. This was because it yielded almost exactly the same results as vignettes in Q1.2 and Q1.3 as shown in Table 36 below.

Table 36 Mean, Median and SD for Q1.2, 1.3 and 1.6

	Q1.2	Q1.3	Q1.6
Mean	4.2	4.3	4.2
Median	4	4	4
Standard deviation	0.4	0.7	0.9

The reason for deleting Q1.6 and not Q1.2 and Q1.3 is also that in terms of wording it was probably too close to Q1.3. The only difference was that the individual in Q1.6 had one ‘native’ and one ‘non-native speaker’ parent, while both parents of the one in 3 were ‘non-native speaker’ In addition, the beginning of Q1.5 was changed to: *I was born in and have lived almost all my life in a non-English-speaking country. I did my education, including university, in a language other than English.*

A further lesson from the pilot study concerns the internal consistency of the multiple scale items (see 3.3.5). It is necessary to measure it to check whether the various questions on the scale work together to measure the same concept (Dörnyei, 2003). This is usually done by calculating the Cronbach Alpha coefficient (α). If its value is above 0.7, a multiple scale with 3-4 items can be said to be consistent. However, if the values are below 0.6, it might mean that it is necessary to rework some of the items on the scale. The Cronbach Alpha was calculated for the multi item scales in Part 2. For questions 2.1.1 to 2.1.4 $\alpha=0.69$, indicating fairly good item consistency. However, for questions 2.3.1 to 2.3.4 it was very low ($\alpha=0.07$). As a result, question 2.3.3 was changed to: *A NES teacher will teach you better English than a NNES teacher*, while question 2.3.4 to: *You will learn good English from a NNES teacher*. Likewise, questions 2.4.1 to 2.4.4 also do not seem internally consistent ($\alpha=0.2$). Consequently, question 2.4.3 was changed to: *It is unhelpful when my teacher uses my first language in class*. Moreover, question 2.7.2 (*I would like to speak English like a NES*), while shown to teachers, students and recruiters; only made sense for students. Hence, its wording was modified to: *Speaking English like a NES should be the goal of all students*. Furthermore, to improve the internal consistency of this group of questions (2.7.1 to 2.7.4), question 2.7.4 was changed to: *Students should aim to speak English like a NES*, while 2.7.3 to: *Students should try to reduce their first language accent when speaking English*.

Another change to the design of the final questionnaire concerns Part 3. After initial piloting, a ‘no opinion’ box was added. However, this can complicate matters with regards to statistical analysis of the data since ‘no opinion’ answer does not come in a numerical form. As a result, I decided to omit it from the final questionnaire. Nevertheless, it was striking that 60 per cent of respondents selected no opinion for ‘mother tongue’, 41 per cent for ‘non-native speaker’ and 25 per cent for ‘native speaker’. On the other hand, for all the other categories none of the respondents selected no opinion even once. This can indicate that the question was poorly worded and it was not clear to participants what that category referred to. Consequently, the introduction to the task was rephrased to: *An effective English teacher is/has...*

Appendix G

Table 37. The Differences Between Statements About Participants' Preference for Native Speaker Teachers Shown to Student, and Teachers and Recruiter Respondents

Statement number	Statement shown to students	Statement shown to teachers and recruiters
2.1.1	I prefer classes with a NES.	When studying a foreign language, I prefer to have classes with a native speaker of that language.
2.1.2	My teacher's mother tongue is important.	My foreign language teacher's mother tongue is important for me.
2.1.3	I prefer to have classes both with NES and NNES.	When studying a foreign language, I prefer to have classes both with native and non-native speakers of that language.
2.1.4	I prefer to have classes with a NNES.	When studying a foreign language, I prefer to have classes with non-native speakers of that language.

Table 38. Questions About Teacher and Student Respondents' Previous Experience With Native and Non-Native Speaker Teachers

Question shown to students	Question shown to teachers
How would you describe your experience so far with native English speaker teachers?	How would you describe your experience studying a foreign language with a native speaker of that language?
How would you describe your experience so far with non-native English speaker teachers?	How would you describe your experience studying a foreign language with a non-native speaker of that language?

Table 39. Respondents' Views About Using English Only in Class

	In an English class, it is best to use only English.						In an English class, it is best when the teacher speaks English at all times.					
	Students		Teachers		Recruiters		Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Strongly Agree	31	52.5	2	8.3	3	60	34	57.6	3	12.5	3	60
Agree	18	30.5	10	41.7	1	20	17	28.8	11	45.8	1	20
Somewhat Agree	5	8.5	8	33.3	1	20	3	5.1	8	33.3	1	20
Neither Agree nor Disagree	2	3.4	1	4.2	0	0	2	3.4	1	4.2	0	0
Somewhat Disagree	2	3.4	2	8.3	0	0	2	3.4	1	4.2	0	0
Disagree	1	1.7	1	4.2	0	0	1	1.7	0	0	0	0
Strongly Disagree	0	0	0	0.0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

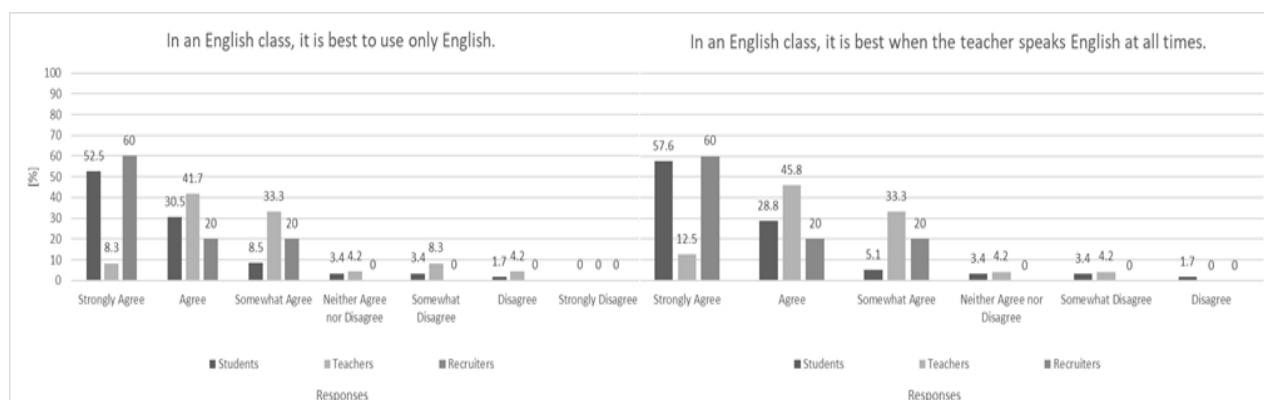


Figure 36. Respondents' Views About Using English Only in Class

Table 40. Speaking English Like a Native Speaker as a Learning Goal for Students

	Students should aim to speak English like a NES.						Speaking English like a NES should be the goal for students.					
	Students		Teachers		Recruiters		Students		Teachers		Recruiters	
	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]	No	[%]
Strongly Agree	9	15.3	1	4.2	0	0	12	20.3	1	4.2	0	0
Agree	21	35.6	2	8.3	0	0	21	35.6	2	8.3	0	0
Somewhat Agree	11	18.6	4	16.7	2	40	9	15.3	6	25.0	2	40
Neither Agree nor Disagree	12	20.3	2	8.3	2	40	10	16.9	5	20.8	2	40
Somewhat Disagree	5	8.5	5	20.8	1	20	4	6.8	1	4.2	1	20
Disagree	1	1.7	7	29.2	0	0	3	5.1	5	20.8	0	0
Strongly Disagree	0	0.0	3	12.5	0	0	0	0	4	16.7	0	0

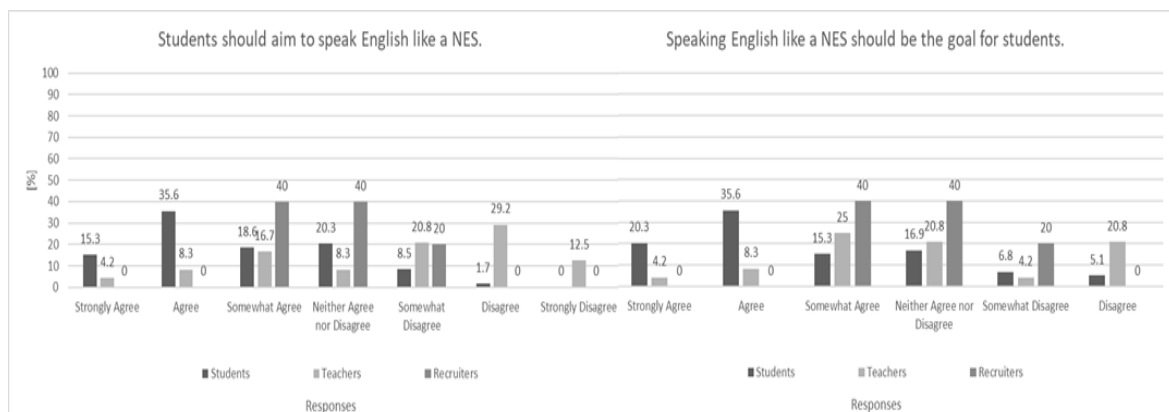


Figure 37. Speaking English Like a Native Speaker as a Learning Goal for Students

Appendix H

The following activities have been adapted from Kiczkowiak (2017).

ACTIVITY 1: WHO IS A 'NATIVE SPEAKER'?

Rationale: As discussed in 2.1, numerous scholars have criticised the simplicity of the binary division into 'native speaker' and 'non-native speaker'. It has also been shown that the two labels are subjective, ideological and value-laden, and that being a 'native speaker' is at times associated with being white and Western-looking (Amin, 2004; Kubota & Fujimoto, 2013). Students tend to have an idealised and less diverse view of the native speaker.

Activity: Complete this statement using your own words. Then, compare your answer with your partner. Were your answers similar? Why (not)?: *A 'native speaker' is somebody who...*

How far do you agree with the following statements? (1 - completely disagree; 2 - disagree, 3 - agree; 4 - completely agree):

1. A 'native speaker' is somebody who was born only in the UK, the US, Ireland or Australia.
2. A 'native speaker' did their tertiary education in English.
3. A person who has IELTS 9 or CPE is a 'native speaker'.
4. A 'native speaker' speaks English perfectly and never makes mistakes.
5. All 'native speakers' are white.
6. There are no 'native speaker' in Kenya or India.
7. Only the English spoken by a 'native speaker' is the real and correct English.
8. A person born to English-speaking parents who has lived abroad most of their life is not a 'native speaker'.

Compare your answers with other students and try to justify your choices. Which statements do you most disagree about? Why?

Read the following statement. Discuss with your partner. Do you agree? Why (not)?

Some scholars have suggested that the labels 'native speaker' and 'non-native speaker' are artificial and have little relevance in the modern world where most people are at least bilingual. These labels have also been reported to create an antagonistic view of the English-speaking community, contributing to the view that 'non-native speaker' are worse English teachers.

ACTIVITY 2: STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES OF ‘NATIVE’ AND ‘NON-NATIVE SPEAKER’ TEACHERS

Rationale: It is true that the constant comparisons between ‘native speaker’ teachers and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers only further perpetuate stereotypes (see 2.3). However, it is important that students realise that both groups have strengths and weaknesses, a fact well-documented by research, and that neither is intrinsically superior to the other. In addition, if this activity is done together with the following (see Activity 3) or the preceding (see Activity 1) one, students might in fact reach a conclusion that being a ‘native speaker’ has no relevance to how successful a teacher one is. They might also come to realise that the binary classification into ‘native speaker’ teachers and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers is questionable.

Activity: Divide students into two groups. One group should imagine a really good ‘native speaker’ teacher, while the other a really good ‘non-native speaker’ teacher they have been taught by. What qualities made them a good teacher? Did they have any weaknesses? As a group agree on a list of strengths and weaknesses.

Pair students with a person from the other group. Discuss the strengths and weaknesses your group listed. Does your new partner agree? Why (not)? Are there any strengths and weaknesses that both ‘native speaker’ teachers and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers share?

Some food for thought: Will all ‘native speaker’ teachers and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers share the strengths and weaknesses you listed? Can ‘non-native speaker’ teachers acquire any of the strengths ‘native speaker’ teachers have? And vice versa? Why (not)? Does being a ‘native speaker’ make you a better teacher?

4.3 ACTIVITY 3: MY IDEAL ENGLISH TEACHER

Rationale: As pointed out in 2.3, constant comparisons between ‘native’ and ‘non-native speaker’ teachers can perpetuate stereotypes and misconceptions about the two groups. As a result, “it is now time that we as a profession began to talk about critical competencies of *effective teachers* and *effective teaching*, regardless of that teacher’s background” (Farrell, 2015, p. 3). While defining effective teaching is problematic (see 2.3), it is evident that all English teachers, irrespective of their first language, must complete pedagogical training and acquire knowledge of and about the language they are going to teach if they are to be successful teachers.

Activity: With a partner remember the best English teacher you have ever had. As a pair list maximum 10 qualities that made that teacher great. Compare your list with that of another pair and agree as a four on a combined list of maximum 10 qualities. Give reasons for your choices. Depending on the number of students in class, continue the pyramid discussion until the whole class gets together to agree on the 10 qualities.

Depending whether students included or not being a ‘native speaker’ on the list, ask: Why is being a ‘native speaker’ (not) on the list? Is it an important trait? Why (not)? How important is it in comparison with the other traits you listed?

Below is a list of characteristics various scholars consider fundamental in effective language teachers. Compare them to your list. Do you agree with them? Would you add any to your list?

- **Proficiency** in the language
- **language awareness**, or knowledge about the language
- **high pedagogical knowledge**, i.e. knows different teaching methods and how and when to use them
- **reflects critically** on their own teaching
- **able to motivate learners through** showing empathy and encouragement
- **understanding of learners' culture, needs and difficulties**

Are any of these traits exclusive to 'native speaker' or 'non-native speaker'? In other words, is effective English teaching influenced by the teacher's mother tongue?

ACTIVITY 4: MY BELIEFS ABOUT TEACHING AND LEARNING ENGLISH

Rationale: It is often the case that learners start a course with a certain set of misconceptions about how languages are learnt or should be taught. For example, they might think that preparing long lists of individual words translated to L1 is the best way to learn vocabulary. Likewise, some students might be prejudiced towards 'non-native speaker' teachers, because of their previous experience, for example, or believe that the 'native speaker' norm is the only valid one they should aspire to. Consequently, it is important that educators do not shy away from discussing such misconceptions with learners, since they are the root cause of the 'native speaker' fallacy (see 2.2).

Activity: Individually decide how far you agree with the following statements (1 - completely disagree; 2 - disagree; 3 - agree; 4 - completely agree). Next to each statement write a reason briefly explaining your opinion:

1. Only a 'native speaker' can teach me real and correct English.
2. I need a 'native speaker' to learn important things about the culture of English speaking countries.
3. There are only 7 countries where English is the official language: Ireland, the UK, the US, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.
4. There are only 7 countries where English is the official language: Ireland, the UK, the US, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.
5. I might learn incorrect pronunciation from a 'non-native speaker'.
6. I would like to speak with a 'native speaker' accent.
7. English is mostly used by 'native speakers'.
8. 'Non-native speakers' are worse teachers.
9. 'Native speakers' are not good at teaching grammar.
10. I don't want to sound like a 'native speaker'.
11. I like having a teacher that can speak my first language. It can be helpful in class.

Compare your answers with a partner and discuss any differences and similarities.

Possible follow up questions:

- Do you think it's important to sound like a 'native speaker'? Why (not)?
- What are the pros and cons of using students' first language in the classroom?
- Do 'native speaker' and 'non-native speaker' teach differently? Why (not)?
- Some people think a 'native speaker' speaks the language perfectly, while a 'non-native speaker' always makes mistakes. Do you agree? Is it possible to speak a language with no mistakes? Why (not)?

- Is it important to learn about the culture of English speaking countries and people? Since there are over 50 countries where English is an official language, is it possible to talk about the culture of English speaking countries?

ACTIVITY 5: CHOOSING A LANGUAGE SCHOOL

Rationale: As discussed in 2.4, 'non-native speakers' and non-white 'native speakers' are frequently discriminated in ELT recruitment. It is suggested here that as customers the students should be made aware of this, so that they can make informed decisions in the future about which course and language school to choose.

Activity: Discuss with your partner why you decided to choose this language school. What are the main factors that you take into account before you decide which school to choose?

Look at the list below and decide how important are these factors when choosing a language school (1 - completely irrelevant; 2 - unimportant; 3 - important; 4 - very important). Then, compare answers with your partner:

1. The school employs only 'native speaker'.
2. The school has a very good reputation.
3. The courses are cheaper than in other schools.
4. All teachers are qualified and experienced.
5. The schedule suits me.
6. I can prepare for an exam (e.g., IELTS).
7. The school employs both 'native speaker' and 'non-native speaker' based on qualifications and experience.
8. My friends recommended the school to me.

Now imagine you were responsible for hiring language teachers for your school. Which factors would you take into account? What questions would you ask the candidate? Are there any factors you think should not appear on job ads (e.g., gender)?

Look at an example of a real job ad. Decide with a partner what you think of the selection criteria. Are they appropriate? Why (not)? Would you go to this language school? Why (not)?

English Teachers in Aragon, Spain,
Well-established, growing EFL academy.

Aragon, Spain - 3 x full-time positions starting immediately for TEFL trained teachers.

Well-established, growing EFL language academy.

Must be native speakers of English and UK / EU passport.

Applications accepted individually or as a couple. NO EXPERIENCE NECESSARY.

For academic year 2016 - 2017. Some Spanish an advantage, but not necessary. Help given with finding accommodation.

Please forward an up-to-date C.V. by email stating **exact** availability and the position(s) you are applying for.

[adapted from: <http://www.tefl.org.uk/job/eenglish-teachers-aragon-spain/>]

Having read the ad, has your opinion about the statements 1 - 8 you discussed above changed in any way? Why (not)? Discuss with a partner.

Read this short text below:

Research shows that around 70 per cent of all advertised positions for English language teachers are for 'native speaker' only. Often, no teaching qualifications or experience are required. This means that many highly qualified, competent and experienced 'non-native speakers' are not even considered for the position. It also means that very little value is placed on teaching skills, experience and qualifications.

Discuss with a partner:

- Do you think it's OK to advertise exclusively for 'native speakers'? Why (not)?
- Would you complain to the school director if you had classes with a 'non-native speaker'? Why (not)?
- What in your opinion makes a really good English teacher?

Appendix I

The following activities have been adapted from Kiczkowiak et al. (2016).

Activity 1

Whose Responsibility?

Aim:

To encourage trainee teachers to think about the issue of responsibility and to devise strategies to combat native speakers within the industry.

Rationale:

The activity should allow trainees, through discussion, to think about how they can affect subaltern communities, whether through standing up themselves to the unequal distribution of power faced by them, or from the position of privilege they enjoy as NS.

Procedure:

- Trainees are divided into groups and assigned one (or more depending on class size) of the following major players in the TEFL industry: students, recruiters/academic directors, teacher trainers, NESTs, NNESTs writers and publishers, teaching associations, examination boards and accrediting bodies.
- Trainees discuss how their assigned person/organisation can actively address the issues of non-native speaker prejudice.
- Groups present their ideas to the whole class.
- Groups prepare posters based on input from their peers to outline strategies to combat prejudice.

Activity 2

Job Adverts

Aim:

To raise awareness of native speakerism as a form of discrimination.

Rationale:

Many teachers may be unaware of requiring teachers to be native speakers of English as a true form of discrimination, but if teachers are to challenge the distribution of power and privilege this is vital. Critical analysis of discrimination may help to highlight the relevant issues and the fact that approximately three-quarters of all ELT job ads discriminate against NNESTs (e.g., Selvi: 2010).

Procedure:

- Trainees are provided with a list of job advertisements (appendix 1) and asked to identify the jobs they would be eligible to apply for.
- Trainees discuss if it is fair that some jobs are not open to them.
- Trainees then look at the qualities in bold and discuss which are legitimate skills/qualities for employers to seek and which seem discriminatory.
- Final discussion focuses on the use of the term native speaker and why they feel employers request this, leading into a discussion on possible alternative terms that could be used.

Extension activity:

Trainees discuss what they think students of English want from the perfect teacher and where they think native speaker fits into this ideal.

Trainer shows the results of a classroom survey of a class of C1 learners to highlight the possible similarities or differences.

Activity 3

Who is a **NS?**

Aim:

To problematise the concept of Native and Non-Native Speaker and to raise awareness of the inadequacy of the two terms.

Rationale:

The terms NS and NNS are quite firmly entrenched in both SLA and ELT jargon despite numerous criticisms and suggestions for alternative, more inclusive terms. The way language is used can undoubtedly serve the needs of the power-holders and serve as a tool for marginalisation. Hence, it is crucial that we critically analyse the two terms and the native speakeristic ideology behind them.

Procedure:

Trainees are presented with a number of statements (see below) and in groups decide how far they agree/disagree with each (1 - completely disagree; 4 completely agree). They should give reasons for their choices:

- If you were raised speaking a particular language and your parents and relatives speak it, you are a NS.
- You cannot be a NS of more than one language.
- There are no NS of English in Zimbabwe.
- A NS knows their language perfectly.
- Somebody who is at C2 level (e.g., IELTS 9) is a NS.
- All Brits/Canadians/US/etc. are NS of English.
- A NNS can never reach NS proficiency.

When the trainees are finished, get feedback and decide on what the problems with the NS/NNS labels are. This can lead to a discussion of the (dis)advantages of the alternative labels which have been proposed in the literature: proficient speaker, monolingual vs multilingual English speaker, expert user.

Extension:

Trainees are given a selection of statements (examples below) and asked to identify which were made by native speakers and which by non-native speakers.

Afterwards, trainees are informed that the sentences were all produced by native speakers, just from different areas of the US/UK.

Trainees discuss how this fits into their view of what proper English is.

- I were going to call you when I got home. (Lancashire)
- I might could see you tomorrow. (Southern US)
- My hair needs washed. (Glasgow)
- I would have went if I'd had the money. (Belfast)
- I didn't go nowhere. (AAVE)

Abbreviations:

ACE - Asian Corpus of English
EIL - English as an International Language
ELF - English as a Lingua Franca
ELFA - English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Settings
ELT - English Language Teacher
EMF - English as a Multilingua Franca
L1 - first language
L2 - second language
NS - Native Speaker
NES - Native English Speaker
NEST- Native English Speaker Teacher
NNS - Non-Native Speaker
NNES - Non-Native English Speaker
NNEST - Non-Native English Speaker Teacher
VOICE - Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English
WEs - World Englishes

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